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Soldiers' Practice Kills Peasant Woman, 63

A 63-year-old Palestinian woman was fatally wounded March 12 by Israeli soldiers who were receiving military training with live ammunition at a nearby army base.

Hussein Amro was sitting on the balcony of his home in the village of al-Majd, 25 kilometres southwest of Hebron, when he heard gunfire. He started to quiet the frightened children who had been playing nearby and then he heard his wife, Miriam, who had been out in the field, call for help. When he arrived, he found her intestines protruding. She was immediately transferred to the Alia Hospital in Hebron, where she died during an emergency operation.

The village *mukhtar*, Mahmoud Taha Shahatit, immediately contacted the Hebron military governor, who sent policemen and the district attorney to the site. The live military manoeuvres at the Israeli army base only two kilometres away from the village did not stop until the police had called the officers in charge of the base and explained to them what had happened.

The body of the slain mother of 11, which had been transferred to Abu Kbir Hospital for an autopsy, was returned three days later and buried by her family and villagers.

Villagers say that this is not the first time residents have been injured by training at the nearby army camp. In 1977, a child, Wadha Abu Hussein, was injured in her leg. In 1980, a teen-ager from the nearby village of Sika, Aminah Abu Samra, was wounded in her legs by live bullets. Villagers also recall that back on October 4, 1972, a woman named Khadra Nufel was also fatally wounded. A number of buildings in the village of al-Majd have marks from bullet holes. The homes of Mohammed Amro, Hussein Talabesh, Ibrahim Talabesh, the grocery store of Abd al-Qader Suleiman, and the village mosque all have bullet holes. One of the village elders, Ahmad Hussein, told *Al Fajr*, "We denounce this inhuman act and call upon those responsible to move the army camp away from our village."

Wadha Abu Hussein

Miriam Amro lived happily among her family until Israeli soldiers practising in the area shot her dead.

The spokesperson for the Israeli army in Jerusalem said that the "army is investigating the case through the military police." The spokesperson would not give any more details or confirm the source of the bullet that fatally wounded Miriam.

2 Brothers Meet in Jail

Abd al-Razzaq Qutob

Ahmad Qutob

An emotional meeting took place last week when two brothers met for the first time in their lives in Nafha prison.

The two brothers met face-to-face when prison authorities transferred 17-year-old Ahmad Qutob from Damoun prison to the Nafha facility where his 37-year-old brother, Abd al-Razzaq, is serving a 20-year term. Ahmad has already served two years of his four-year term. He was imprisoned for security reasons.

Ahmad was born shortly after his older brother Abd al-Razzaq was imprisoned. Abd al-Razzaq was jailed in 1967 shortly after the Israelis occupied the West Bank.

Misara Qutob, the mother of Ahmad and Abd al-Razzaq, who related this story to *Al Fajr*, said that the meeting was very sentimental, with both brothers weeping.

Ahmad and Abd al-Razzaq Qutob will complete their prison terms at about the same time in November 1987.

Damoun Hunger Strike Enters Second Week

Palestinian political prisoners at Damoun prison at the top of Mt Carmel in Haifa began their second week of a hunger strike to protest prison conditions and their treatment by jailers. All 20 prisoners went out on strike but at least 8 have since been transferred out to other prisons.

Relatives of prisoners told *Al Fajr* that jailers entered the prisoners' cells two weeks ago for what they said was a search for political material. The jailers ordered prisoners to strip and then beat them. The prisoners began their hunger strike after the raid and pledged to continue until conditions in the prison improve. They also called for a meeting with the prison warden.

Four days after the strike began, the warden met with the prisoners and promised to improve conditions. The prisoners also asked that teen-aged Palestinian political prisoners who are brought to Damoun after trial and conviction be housed with other political prisoners rather than in the criminal section. The prisoners had ended their strike in return for the promise that their demands would be met but when conditions failed to improve, they reinstated their strike.

Relatives urged the international community and human rights organisations to intervene on behalf of the prisoners before the situation gets more critical. They are also planning a sit-in protest at Red Cross offices if the prisoners' demands are not met.

Meanwhile, mothers of political prisoners in Asqalan prison continued their three-week-long sit-in at the Jerusalem offices of the International Red Cross to show solidarity with their sons, who have been on hunger strike since February 22 to protest bad prison conditions.

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Resistance Spurs on Israeli Withdrawal

A southern Lebanese family bewildered by the Israeli occupation army's destruction of their home in Ma'roub village.

The Lebanese resistance continued to attack Israeli occupation forces and their allies the South Lebanon Army (SLA) last week as Israel accelerated plans to withdraw from south Lebanon.

The resistance killed two Israeli soldiers March 17 and wounded five others in an ambush on a patrol near the town of Jibshit, an Israeli military spokesperson said. Rocket-propelled grenades and light arms were used in the attack, according to the wounded soldiers. Another soldier died March 18 of wounds sustained during an attack a week earlier.

Grenade, rocket, and light arms attacks were reported throughout the week against Israeli posts. Israeli and SLA forces came under attacks in four different incidents March 20 in the Tyre and Hasbayah areas. The Israeli army did not report any casualties. Two Katyusha rockets fell on an Israeli post in Jwaya March 17 and a roadside bomb exploded the same day as an Israeli army patrol passed east of Jwaya, according to army reports. No casualties were reported.

The French newspaper *Liberation* reported March 19 that Druze and Christians are now forming suicide attack groups aimed at Israeli forces. The newspaper said the driver of the suicide car that ran into an Israeli army convoy two weeks ago killing two soldiers was a Druze. The paper claimed the suicide attacker, Wajdi Sayegh, had left a message before he went on his mission saying that the Shi'ites are not the only group that executes suicide attacks on Israeli forces.

The Israeli army began dismantling army installations from atop Jebel Barouq March 18, the highest point they had commanded in south Lebanon and which they had used as an advance warning site. The retreat from Jebel Barouq is part of the withdrawal planned for completion by the end of the summer. However, observers believe that the Israeli departure from the strategic Jebel Barouq now indicates that they are in a hurry to leave Lebanon and reduce casualties. Some Israeli officials are pushing for a simultaneous implementation of the second and third phases of the withdrawal before the summer. Israel had planned to leave the eastern sector of the country in the second phase and the western area in the third and last phase. Some Israeli officials have reportedly recommended the retention of a security zone north of the border to be manned by the SLA.

Press reports from south central Lebanon said Druze militias were seen moving heavy artillery close to Jebel Barouq in an attempt to take over the area once the Israelis leave. The Druze, reports said, had brought heavy tanks and seemed to be poised for attack.

The Israeli army continued its "iron fist" policy in south Lebanon. At least five civilians were known to have been killed by Israeli soldiers during raids on Lebanese villages over the week. The army also inflicted casualties and demolished homes. Israeli troops killed three civilians and wounded three others March 16 during a search-and-destroy campaign in the village of Tura. Soldiers also killed two civilians in Ma'roub village March 18 when a large army contingent arrived and rounded up residents for questioning about their connection with the resistance. The army also raided the villages of Jibshit, Barish, Karmieh, Burj Rahal and Qaroun in a similar manner.

BBC Radio reported confrontations between the Irish contingent of UNIFIL and SLA militia. The radio said that Israeli troops stood idly by during the confrontations. No injuries were reported.

Israel Restricts Coverage of South Lebanon Further

Norwegian reporter Anders Sandvig was stopped March 17 by the Israeli military authorities from visiting UNIFIL headquarters in Naqoura, Israeli-occupied south Lebanon, where he had been officially invited. The Israeli army spokesperson's office demanded that he obtain a written guarantee from UNIFIL that he would not contact anyone other than UNIFIL personnel. Another Israeli condition was that UNIFIL guarantee his personal safety.

The army spokesperson later confirmed that a new policy regarding visiting journalists was being implemented that weekend. But UNIFIL officers in Naqoura denied having received any notification about limitations on international reporters' access to UN operations areas. The following day UNIFIL officials responded that such guarantees could not be given. Still, the Israeli army spokesperson in Tel Aviv, Captain Roni Gilo, said that he expected UNIFIL headquarters to cooperate with the Israeli demand.

The latest move appeared to be an extension of earlier restrictions announced two weeks ago, whereby any reporter wishing to enter south Lebanese territory must be accompanied by an Israeli military attache. The Foreign Press Association issued a statement voicing strenuous objections to the new restrictions.

Norway's ambassador to Israel, Torleif Anda, informed the Foreign Ministry in Oslo March 19 that Sandvig was halted from going to Naqoura in spite of the fact that he had an official clearance from UN head offices in New York. A request was made the same day for the Foreign Press Association (FPA) in Israel to obtain a written copy of the new Israeli policy regarding foreign reporters invited by UNIFIL to cover the activities of the international body.

Sandvig left Jerusalem early this week without his story, making a statement that the only reason he could see for what he had just experienced was that "Israel does not want any third party to witness what goes on in south Lebanon."

Reporters are hoping that swift diplomatic reactions from foreign governments contributing to UNIFIL may stand the best chance of securing the right of the international press to inform the public about activities in south Lebanon.

Ja'ja' Heads Phalange Rebellion

One week after a split was reported in the Lebanese Phalange Party, fighting was reported in the port city of Sidon between the Lebanese army and the Phalange rebels. Fighting broke out March 18 when the rebel forces, headed by Samir Ja'ja', took positions in areas north of Sidon in an attempt to cut the road between Beirut and the south. Thousands of civilians left the fighting area as rebels moved into their homes and established strongholds. The Lebanese army intervened to prevent a rebel takeover of important routes that would strengthen their positions. The Lebanese army reported the death of five of its soldiers and the injury of 30 in the fighting.

The rebellion within the Phalange Party was as a direct challenge to President Amin Gemayel, who until last week was considered the undisputed leader of the Phalange Party. Gemayel reportedly asked former Lebanese President Suleiman Franjieh, a bitter enemy of Ja'ja', for Syrian assistance in quelling the rebellion. Ja'ja' is responsible for the death of Franjieh's son Tony, his wife, his daughter, and 32 bodyguards in 1978.

Samir Ja'ja'

Lebanese leaders accused Ja'ja' of being an Israeli agent. They said that the rebellion was an Israeli scheme to undermine the Lebanon government's attempts to assert its sovereignty over all of Lebanon. They charged that Ja'ja' met with Israeli military officers before launching his rebellion. The rebellion was intended, according to Ja'ja', to reduce Syrian and Muslim influence in Lebanon. Lebanese leaders also asserted that the mutiny was meant to divert Lebanese resistance attacks on Israeli occupation forces in south Lebanon.

Lebanese political leaders continued efforts in Beirut to contain the Phalange rebellion. President Amin Gemayel met Christian leaders and cabinet members over the week to discuss ways to stop the rebels from spreading their control over all Lebanese Christian areas. The Syrian army has also mobilised its forces in Lebanon to confront the rebels after Syrian officials sent direct orders to Ja'ja' and his followers to end their mutiny. Three Syrian brigades moved to areas north of Beirut and surrounded towns controlled by Ja'ja's forces. "The objective of the move is to assist President Gemayel," Syrian Defence Minister Mustafa Tlas was quoted as saying.

The rebels met in East Beirut March 20 and appointed Ja'ja' as commander of the Lebanese Forces, the military arm of the Phalange Party. The rebels, who apprently command considerable support among Lebanon's Maronites, demand more Christian control over political affairs in Lebanon and less Syrian or Lebanese Muslim influence on the government. Gemayel and his loyalists reject the charge of Syrian tutelage and excessive Lebanese Muslim influence.

South Lebanon Policy Sparks Protests

The increased brutality of Israeli occupation policy in south Lebanon prompted a number of demonstrations by Israelis and Palestinians this week demanding an immediate end to the three-year-old occupation.

Palestinians within the "green line" demonstrated in Nazareth and Kufr Yassif March 15. The demonstrations were called for by the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality. Members of the local Arab councils spoke to the demonstrators on the brutality of the Israeli actions in south Lebanon. Demonstrators carried placards denouncing the Israeli "iron fist" policy in south Lebanon. They also denounced Israeli discrimination against Arabs living inside the "green line" and in the occupied territories. The demonstrators dispersed peacefully after one hour.

Withdrawal Now

The biggest demonstration occurred March 17 in Tel Aviv when 20,000 members and supporters of the liberal movement Peace Now marched through the streets of the city demanding an immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon. Speakers at the demonstration called on the government to take Former Defence Minister Ariel Sharon to court for what they said was his responsibility for the Lebanon war.

Yuval Neriya, an Israeli army battalion commander, was quoted in *The Jerusalem Post* March 17 as telling the crowd that Sharon is "the official terrorist" and that "the real booby-trapped car which explodes and kills every day is Ariel Sharon who, together with his partners (former Prime Minister Menachem) Begin, (former Defence Minister Moshe) Arens and (former Chief of Staff Rafael Eitan) Raful, has still not been forced to confront the truth." Demonstrators' signs read: "No to the Iron Fist Policy," and "We Should Leave Lebanon Now."

UNRWA Prep School in Kalandia Closed

The Israeli military government closed the UNRWA-run boys preparatory school in Kalandia refugee camp for one month effective March 19 for "security reasons." An Israeli military officer who visited the school on the day of closure told its principal that the order was issued because stones were thrown at Israeli soldiers outside the school. The officer, according to the principal, was not able to verify that the stones were thrown from inside the school compound.

The school principal and other teachers vehemently denied that stones were thrown from school grounds. The school is surrounded by a 10-foot-long concrete wall with a chainlink fence on top, making visibility from the road virtually impossible. They confirmed that the military officer acknowledged that the stones were most probably thrown from outside. The officer, however, insisted that since the incident occurred in the school vicinity, the school must be held responsible.

Camp residents and teachers told *Al Fajr* that classes had been conducted normally and students were going about their studies in a normal way when they heard of the closure order. UNRWA spokesperson Mohammed Jarrallah expressed surprise at the order, which he termed "unjustifiable." He fears that with 309 students out in the streets for one month, delinquency in the camp will increase. The school principal said the closure will disrupt the school schedule, affecting particularly the 100 students in third preparatory. These students, he said, will have to sit for a general comprehensive exam in June qualifying them to enter first secondary if they pass with a high mark. Otherwise, the students will have to either enter vocational schools or quit school altogether. Residents said the closure is part of an Israeli policy intended at increasing the illiteracy rate among the Palestinian population. The students were scheduled to sit for preliminary exams next week to prepare them for the general exam in June.

Israeli soldiers came to the school March 19 with barbed wire to fence it in. The principal informed them, however, that the premises are used for elementary students during morning hours, while the preparatory school convenes in the afternoon. The school was then left alone.

This is the fifth time the boy's school has been closed by military occupation authorities. It was closed two years ago also for one month, while the girls school was closed for two months. The closure order comes less than three weeks after Bir Zeit University's new campus was shut down by the military government for one month.

Military Bars Najah Student from Campus for 6 Months

The Israeli military issued a six-month order barring third-year Najah University student Taysir Mohammed Nasrallah, a resident of Balata refugee camp in Nablus, from entering the Nablus campus. No reason was given for the order, which went into effect in early March.

Nasrallah, an economics student, has been arrested several times, most recently late last month. At that time he was held without charge at Fara'a prison camp near Jenin for the legal maximum of 18 days and then released on bail.

This is the first time that a university student has been barred specifically from entering his school. Previously, the military issued general town arrest orders to prevent students from travelling to their campuses. However, this method is effective only if the student is from out of town.

Najah University Public Relations director Sa'eb Erakat called the banning "a blatant interference in university affairs." Erakat wondered if the order against Nasrallah is meant as an enforcement of Military Order Number 854, a wide-ranging order introduced in 1982 restricting academic freedom which among other things bars Palestinian students who have been arrested for political reasons, with or without charge, from resuming their university studies.

Nasrallah's lawyer, Felicia Langer, filed a petition this week with an Israeli military advisory committee asking that the order be cancelled.

Soldiers Conduct Door-to-Door Dheisheh Census

Israeli soldiers went door to door in the Dheisheh refugee camp this week collecting census information from camp residents. No explanation was given for the census, and camp residents fear it precedes some collective military action against them.

The data collection process took soldiers three days, ending March 21, and covered one-third of the camp homes. The soldiers conducting the census were accompanied by military officials.

According to Dheisheh residents, the data collecting process was not uniform. They say that in some homes the soldiers asked for detailed information on the entire households while in others only the name of the head of the household was requested.

UNRWA officials, who have jurisdiction over the refugee camp, said they were aware that the census had taken place but had not requested any explanation from the Israeli military administration. The UNRWA spokesperson said that similar censuses were conducted in other refugee camps.

Eli Shazar, spokesperson of the West Bank "civil administration," denied that the army had carried out a census. "It was simply a matter of checking who was living in the various houses," she said. As to the motive behind this action, the spokesperson said it was for "security reasons."

Studies Resume at Islamic University after Student Factions Make Up

Classes at Gaza's Islamic University resumed March 16 after an agreement was reached between conflicting student groups to "renounce violence" on campus as a means to resolve disputes and to "bolster brotherly relations" among the students. The students agreed in the presence of their parents and members of the university's board of trustees March 11 to reconcile their differences and facilitate a return to normal campus life, according to the university's acting director, Mohammed Slam.

The university was shut down by the administration March 6, a day after fundamentalist groups and nationalist students clashed, apparently in a power struggle and also over differing political views. Members of both groups had earlier distributed pamphlets on campus expressing their views on local political issues. Some clashes then occurred which resulted in a serious attack March 5 on nationalist students by Islamic fundamentalists. The fundamentalist students attacked their rivals during classes using swords and blunt instruments, leaving several injured, some seriously. The Israeli military entered the campus to quell the disturbance and arrested 20 students.

Islamic University's Board of Trustees met in an emergency session the same day and decided to shut down the school "until further notice." The board acted to cool tempers and decided to pursue the issue until an agreement to end hostilities could be reached.

Nationalist students issued a statement March 7 charging that "gangsters from the Islamic Association of the Islamic University in Gaza, represented by the

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Knesset Delegation Visits Hospice

Members of the Knesset Labour and Social Affairs Committee visited Hospice Hospital in Jerusalem's Old City March 19 to see conditions in the Arab hospital for themselves. The visit follows discussions six weeks ago in the Israeli Knesset on the status of the government-run hospital, which is facing possible closure proceedings. The Knesset turned the issue over to the Labour and Social Affairs Committee to study the problem and present its recommendations to the parliament. The Knesset discussed the Hospice situation at the request of Tawfiq Toubi, MK from the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality.

MK Ora Namir (Alignment), who chairs the committee, told *Al Fajr* she and other committee members went to the hospital to see its director, Dr Ahmad Muhtadi, and other staff members. They wanted to hear their opinions on the matter. Namir said she was shocked at medical conditions in the hospital, which she described as "very bad." However, she said, she is going to recommend that the hospital continue in its current status as an independent government hospital "on the condition that improvements are introduced."

Dr Muhtadi, a local gynaecologist, explained that conditions at the hospital are a direct result of government policy towards Hospice. The Health Ministry has closed several sections of the hospital over the past 17 years and dismissed several staff members on the pretext of budget cuts, he said. The hospital's current annual budget amounts to US$1 million, but Muhtadi said the hospital has to generate close to one-third this sum on its own every year.

Muhtadi told *Al Fajr* he asked the ministry for help to improve hospital conditions. He said if the ministry cannot come up with enough money to keep the Hospice at an acceptable level of operation then it should allow philanthropists to come to its aid instead. Muhtadi is proposing that the hospital be turned into a private institution and run by charitable organisations in the city.

The Health Ministry, according to earlier reports, leans more in the direction of turning the hospital over to private donors. However, the Jerusalem municipality is opposed to this idea and prefers closing the hospital. Muhtadi said the Health Ministry now wants to close down the hospital and instead open clinics in the Old City linked to the Israeli Hadassah Hospital.

The Labour and Social Affairs Committee will meet Health Minister Mordechai Gur in four weeks, following a Knesset recess, to discuss the issue. Namir said she does not know what direction the meeting will take.

The hospital is the only government-run Arab hospital in Jerusalem which serves primarily the poorer population of the city. Residents of the city and neighbouring Arab cities who travel to Jerusalem for treatment worry that its closure will leave them stranded and unable to pay the high cost of medical treatment in private or government-owned Israeli hospitals. More than 75 percent of the Arab population do not have health and hospitalisation insurance since socialised medicine was the trend in the West Bank even prior to Israeli occupation in 1967.

Volunteers Pick Crops with Jiftlik Farmers

Over 200 volunteers from all over the West Bank spent the weekend March 15-17 helping farmers in the Jiftlik area of the Jordan Valley. Men and women volunteers at the work camp sponsored by the Higher Committee for Voluntary Work in the West Bank and Gaza picked some 135 tons of tomatoes for 57 farmers. The majority of the work was done for farmers whose seasonal farming homes had been destroyed last year. The army carried out about 90 such demolitions last November because the homes were built without licences.

Camp organisers said that the volunteer activity was not only meant to help the farmers but also to educate young people about the difficulties facing the farmers now that their homes have been demolished. Farmers estimated that the volunteers' work saved them US$2500 that would have been paid to pickers.

The majority of Palestinian farmers working in the Jiftlik area come from the northern cities of the West Bank. They normally spend nearly nine months a year on their farms. They are reimbursed 20 percent of the profits they make and the rest goes to the landowners, most of whom live in Nablus.

The volunteer group is planning a watermelon picking work camp in the 'Oujah area this summer.

MK Wreaks Havoc at Haifa Opening of 'Art Against Occupation'

Deputy Knesset speaker Cohen-Avidov attacks the "Art Against Occupation" exhibit in Haifa.

The deputy speaker of the Israeli Knesset, Meir Cohen-Avidov (Herut), broke into a Haifa art gallery March 16 and attempted to block the opening of the joint Palestinian-Israeli art exhibit.

Avidov and his supporters abused and shouted at the packed crowd of Jewish and Arab art fans who had come to participate in the opening of the exhibit entitled "Israeli and Palestinian Artists Against Occupation — For Freedom of Expression" at the Chagall House of the Haifa Painters and Sculptors Association. A painting by Israeli artist Harold Rubin entitled *Homage to Meir Kahane* and another by Yair Garbos were damaged during the scuffle.

The Haifa police were impotent against Avidov's Knesset immunity and could only confine the MK to the second floor while the participants on the first floor continued with the opening ceremony.

During the scuffle Avidov shouted, "We will not turn the Haifa artists' house into a PLO bastion." But onlookers at the exhibit replied singing the Palestinian national song *Biladi, Biladi* (My Homeland) and by chanting slogans of Arab-Jewish brotherhood.

Speakers at the opening included Israeli artists Gershon Knispel and David Reeb as well as a Palestinian artist from Haifa, Abed Abeddi. The speakers stressed that the exhibit would continue despite the pressures to have it removed. They stated that the exhibit is a symbol of Palestinian-Israeli understanding and mutual respect.

The actions of Avidov, who was accompanied by a member of the Haifa municipality from the Herut Party, Haim Nadav, caused an uproar in local Haifa politics.

In reply to charges by Avidov, Haifa Mayor Arieh Goriel said, "The exhibit is a reality that we have to recognise, and it has been shown in a number of Israeli cities." Avidov was quoted in the Israeli daily *Ma'ariv* as asking the municipality to stop funding the artists' union, which sponsored the exhibit. The Haifa mayor retorted that he would not make any budget cuts against the union and that, in any event, "The union was not getting any money because the municipality is suffering financially."

The secretary of the Haifa artists' union, Gershon Knispel a long-time supporter of Palestinian rights, said that for the past weeks he has received ominous anonymous threats against going through with the exhibit. An unidentified caller threatened to break his legs. Knispel reported the threats to the police. A complaint was also lodged about Avidov damaging the painting. Artist Abeddi, a member of the union, told *Al Fajr* that the attempt to abort the exhibit was part of a campaign that has recently seen the dismissal of Arab students from Haifa University — a campaign to quiet any opposition to the present political situation. He considered the actions of a responsible person like Avidov to be "very dangerous."

The participants in the exhibit issued a statement following the incident which said: "We feel that this exhibit has contributed in a humble way to the deepening of understanding between our two peoples."

The joint Israeli-Palestinian art show was opened in Tel Aviv early February. The exhibit will continue in Haifa till March 27, when it will be transferred to Kibbutz Gan Shmuel and then to Beer Sheba. A number of international galleries have expressed a desire to show the exhibit.

Israeli Commander Urges Ban on WB Demonstrations

Amnon Shahak, the Israeli commander of the central district, told the Israeli High Court March 20 that he has advised his aides "not to allow Arabs and Jews to carry out political demonstrations in the West Bank." The democratic right to demonstrate is not relevant in the West Bank, he said, because the area is under military rule. Shahak told the court that "in the West Bank, arrest usually follows demonstrations."

Shahak's statement was included in an affidavit he submitted in response to an appeal of an order banning a demonstration planned for February 25 in the West Bank. "Struggle 85," a movement of Sephardi Jews opposed to settlement building in the West Bank, and the Israeli Civil Rights Association filed the appeal in the High Court. "Struggle 85" had been forbidden to demonstrate on the main Jerusalem-Nablus road where Israeli Prime Minister Peres was scheduled to pass February 25 while on a tour of Israeli settlements. (Peres's trip was cancelled because of bad weather.)

After the request to hold a demonstration was refused, "Struggle 85" appealed to the Israeli High Court. The court immediately issued an order *nisi* demanding that Israeli military authorities in the West Bank show cause why they did not permit the demonstration to take place.

The Israeli Civil Rights Association joined the case to seek an Israeli High Court ruling on the right to demonstrate which could be used as a precedent in future cases.

The three judges assigned to hear the appeal will take it up within the next two weeks.

Innocent Arabs Beaten by TA Police

"I opened the door of the storeroom and stood there in shock. Some of our Arab workers were standing with their faces to the wall while a man with a skullcap beat them with whatever he could get his hands on," Shlomo Shweizler, a building contractor from the Hod Ha-Sharon area, told the Israeli daily *Hadashot*.

"I yelled at him — who are you, what are you doing? And he showed me his police ID. The whole scene took me back to what I witnessed 44 years ago, as a child during the holocaust."

According to Shweizler, the incident had something to do with a business dispute between his partners. One of them threatened the others that he would call the police, claiming to have connections with the police department. When the police arrived on the scene, none of the contractors were there and they attacked the Arab workers who had taken a break from work in the storeroom.

Shweizler and another contractor turned to their lawyer in order to secure the release of 12 of the workers who were arrested and to MK Shulamit Aloni with a request that an investigation be launched into the police behaviour. Aloni told *Hadashot* that she would bring the matter up in the Knesset.

Galilee Resident Held for Showing Nationalist Tapes

The Israeli police arrested a Kufr Manda resident, Rami Fadl Alam, March 16 on charges of showing customers video tapes sympathetic to the Palestinian national cause. Alam, 35, own a coffeeshop in the lower Galilee village where police alledged he showed customers the films.

On March 18, Alam was remanded for 15 days by an Acre district court.

The Israeli Hebrew daily *Ma'ariv* claimed in a March 17 report that the tapes were shown at late hours in the cafe. It alledged that viewers were verbally informed that the showing was intended to convince them of the justice of the Palestinian cause, according to the newspaper.

Relatives and friends say Alam was never involved in politics and probably showed the films for commercial purposes. Alam regularly shows video tapes at his cafe as a means to attract customers, in keeping with the current fad in coffeeshops throughout Israel.

"5 Municipal Inspectors Beat Me Up"

On March 19 a Tel Aviv municipal inspector paid a visit to the "Le Brasazi" restaurant on Dizengoff Street. The owner of the restaurant was not present and the inspector approached worker Ali Abu Issa, an Arab resident of Gaza, and demanded to see the restaurant's municipal licence. "Wait here," the inspector said, "I'll be back in a minute. Get your ID ready." He returned a few minutes later with another man who also introduced himself as a municipal inspector. They demanded to see Abu Issa's ID. However, Abu Issa refused, "First of all because you're not policemen," he said, "and secondly, I haven't broken any law. If you want to see the restaurant's operating licence, go right ahead."

According to Abu Issa, the two inspectors began threatening, slapping and punching him. "I ran to the telephone to call the police, but they disconnected the phone. They spoke over their walkie-talkies... and a few minutes later three more municipal inspectors arrived. All five of them began beating me up, hitting me in the face, in the stomach, on my back, and on my hands... They told me that I was under arrest..."

Finally police arrived and took them over to the station where the five inspectors filed charges against Abu Issa, and Abu Issa filed charges against them.

Tel Aviv municipal officials responded by saying that the inspectors had every right to ask someone to identify himself, but did not comment on the beating Abu Issa received. (Translation: Yediot Aharanot, March 20, 1985)

UNRWA Plans to Cut Services

The United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) has a little over two-and-a-half months to raise enough money to overcome its US$27 million cash budget deficit if it is to avoid cutting the services it provides to Palestine refugees in the Middle East, according to the agency's commissioner-general, Olof Rydbeck.

Addressing a press conference in Amman on Monday, March 11 at the end of a four-day visit to Jordan, Rydbeck said, "I have to have the pledges by the end of May."

He said he had come away from a recent visit to Scandinavia with promises of a "few million" dollars in additional contributions from Sweden and Norway. Next, Rydbeck expects to meet Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti, current chairperson of the European Community Council of Ministers, while Deputy Commissioner-General Robert Dillon will go to Washington in April to pursue contacts with the US government already begun by UNRWA Comptroller Edward Gregory.

"We have to wait a few months to see how things turn out," Rydbeck said. "My working theory is that we will succeed, but US$27 million is a lot of money."

UNRWA, which is financed by voluntary contributions from UN member states, international organisations and voluntary agencies, went into 1985 with a US$67 million gap between its cash needs and anticipated income for the year.

It has already made US$40 million reductions by deferring some staff benefits and cutting construction, maintenance, and other costs, without affecting the daily education, health, and relief services it renders to two million registered Palestinian refugees in Jordan, Lebanon, the Syrian Arab Republic, and the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip.

"Our aim is to preserve the services of the agency intact," Rydbeck told reporters in Amman. "Contrary to local press reports, no cuts in services to refugees are being made or have been made." On the contrary, he said, UNRWA has sought to increase and improve its services to keep pace with the growth of the refugee population.

The Dawn
AL FAJR

AL FAJR – Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

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Prisoners Rights

For the last three weeks, Palestinian political prisoners in Asqalan have been on hunger strike protesting maltreatment by Israeli prison authorities. Fellow prisoners at Jnaid, Nafha, and Gaza prisons have since declared limited hunger strikes in support of Asqalan inmates. Damoun prisoners also held a four-day hunger strike and ended it only when prison authorities promised to improve their conditions.

Demands of Palestinian political prisoners concentrate on ending long-standing policies of discrimination, reducing overcrowding, improving food and medical care, and stopping unnecessary restriction of fresh air and sun. The legitimacy of such demands stems from the human struggle for bare survival. What Palestinian political prisoners are demanding does not exceed in any way what is provided for by international laws and agreements binding almost all countries.

Although Israel claims that it adheres to these international regulations, Palestinian prisoners continue to suffer from the Israeli denial of their basic human rights as provided in these laws. Hundreds of prison strikes have been held in Israeli prisons and at least twenty Palestinian prisoners have died in their struggle against prison brutality. Hundreds of Palestinian prisoners have over the years developed permanent disabilities as a result of the heavy toll of hunger strikes. Yet Palestinians believe that if it were not for the strong group confrontation with Israeli prison authorities, much greater harm would come to them. Palestinians in general and those among them who are prisoners in jails understand the aim behind Israeli treatment of prisoners: to dehumanise, to break the spirit and the body of the Palestinian people – a goal similar to all racist movements and foreign dominators, but one defied by a people's stronger will to survive.

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Human Rights Commission Condemns Situation in S. Lebanon

by Ghassan Bishara
Our Washington, DC Correspondent

The forty-first session of the Commission on Human Rights adopted March 13, 1985, the following resolution: Question of the Violation of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms in Any Part of the World, with Particular Reference to Colonial and Other Dependent Countries and Territories.

(Afghanistan, Algeria, Bahrain, Bulgaria, Cuba, Democratic Yemen, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Morocco, Mongolia, Mozambique, Pakistan, Qatar, Syrian Arab Republic, Senegal, Tunisia, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Republic of Tanzania, Viet Nam, Yemen)

The Situation in Southern Lebanon.

The Commission on Human Rights,

Gravely concerned by Israeli action in southern Lebanon which constitutes a flagrant violation of the Geneva Convention relative to the protection of civilian persons in time of war, of August 12, 1949, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the principles of international law, and the objectives of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. *Strongly condemns* Israel for its human rights violations – assassinations, mass arrests among the civilian population, abductions, demolition of houses, desecration of holy places, and other inhuman acts;

2. *Calls* on Israel to put an immediate end to such repressive practices and to release persons detained and abducted, and demands the immediate and total withdrawal of Israel from southern Lebanon, in accordance with Security Council Resolution 509 (1982) of June 6, 1982;

3. *Calls* on those governments which continue to give Israel economic, political, and military aid to put an end to the support to that country calculated to encourage it to persevere with its policy of aggression, expansion, and colonisation;

4. *Requests* the secretary-general to monitor the implementation of this resolution and to submit to the General Assembly a report on the result of his efforts in that regard.

Concerning Detainees

GENEVA – The forty-first session of the Commission on Human Rights adopted March 11, 1985, the following resolution:

Question of the Human Rights of All Persons Subjected to Any Form of Detention or Imprisonment.

(Afghanistan, Algeria, Bangladesh, Bulgaria, Congo, Cuba, German Democratic Republic, India, Jordan, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mauritania, Sri Lanka, Syrian Arab Republic, Ukrainian SSR and United Republic of Tanzania)

The Commission on Human Rights,

Guided by the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations as well as the principles and provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,

Bearing in mind the provisions of the Geneva Conventions of August 12, 1949 and of the Hague Convention of 1907,

Recalling General Assembly Resolutions 2674 (XXV) and 2675 (XXV) of December 9, 1970 as well as all relevant resolutions on the promotion of the respect of human rights in armed conflicts,

Deeply alarmed by the situation of Palestinian, Lebanese, and other detainees held by Israel as a result of its invasion of Lebanon and continued occupation of Lebanese territories,

1. *Strongly condemns* Israel for its policies of ill-treatment and torture of Palestinian detainees in Israeli prisons;

2. *Strongly reaffirms* that the fundamental rights established by international law and formulated in international instruments remain fully applicable in cases of armed conflict;

3. *Urges* Israel to recognise, in accordance with the Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War, of August 12, 1949, the status of prisoners of war for all combatants captured in the course of that war, and to treat them accordingly;

4. *Urges* Israel to release immediately all civilians arbitrarily detained since the beginning of that war, as well as those that Israel rearrested and detained again in Ansar Camp, thereby violating the agreement on the exchange of prisoners concluded with the International Committee of the Red Cross in November 1983, and to release the 125 prisoners it transferred from Ansar Camp to Atlit prison on the eve of the implementation of the above-mentioned agreement on the exchange of prisoners;

5. *Urges* Israel to cooperate with the International Committee of the Red Cross and allow it to visit all detainees, in all the detention centres under its control;

6. *Urges* Israel to ensure protection, in conformity with the Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of August 12, 1949, and the Hague Convention of 1907, for Palestinian civilians, including the released detainees, in the areas under its occupation;

7. *Calls upon* all parties to the conflict to furnish the International Committee of the Red Cross with all available information concerning persons who are missing or who disappeared following the invasion of Lebanon by Israel;

8. *Requests* the secretary-general to make available all information concerning this matter;

9. *Decides* to place this matter on the provisional agenda of its forty-second session under the item "Question of the Human Rights of All Persons Subjected to Any Form of Detention or Imprisonment." ■

OPINION

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

Israeli Gorillas Wage Futile War Against Lebanese Guerrillas

by Micha'el Hersgur

A gorilla is a kind of dull political leader who is both malevolent and impercipient enough to send the army off to wage a war it cannot possibly win. Napoleon played the gorrilla in Spain, precipitating his downfall; Mussolini assumed an ape-like posture in Africa and bled his countrymen for the sake of Roman martial glory; General Westmoreland led the US government up the garden path in Vietnam; and in Israel, the gorillas sent the army into Lebanon and unleashed a guerrilla backlash. Whoever claims that he did not foresee such an eventuality is a barefaced liar. About 10 days before the outbreak of "Operation Peace for Galilee," I was interviewed by *Yediot Aharonot* and my remarks were published under the heading: "The Likud's Vietnam." I did not have access to any classified information but I did get hold of some material that appears to have escaped the likes of Sharon and Eitan — namely, the Hebrew Encyclopedia entries on Lebanon.

An occupying army is all it takes to trigger the rise of a guerrilla movement. The local population provides the guerrillas with supplies, money, and information; and the guerrillas move among the people like fish in the water. The guerrillas themselves are usually ruthless and their enemies generally respond in kind.

Gorillas launch their wars on the assumption that they will engage the standing army of their enemies in combat and vanquish them. Hence, they are always taken aback by the guerrillas, who declare an all-out war and force the occupiers into adopting measures that make the occupation that much more despicable in the eyes of the local population. It does not take long before hatred begins to act as a recruiting agent for the guerrillas.

The best way to avoid all this is a quick war with well-defined objectives, but this axiom of military strategy was beyond the ken of Messrs. Begin, Sharon and Eitan. They believed that the Shi'ites would continue showering the Israeli army with rice and chocolate year after year. However, it didn't take long before the rice and chocolate were replaced by grenades and bombs. It would appear that Sharon overlooked such an eventuality, but then again, no one can think of everything.

Between 1900 and 1902, Boer guerrillas in southern Africa drove the English to the end of their tether. The British set up concentration camps for the civilian population — a historical precedent — and overnight Europe became virulently anti-British. At the eleventh hour, the leaders of Great Britain recoiled and offered the vanquished Boers a dignified proposal for the cessation of hostilities and the guerrilla war came to an end. The British were statesmen, not gorillas.

When a guerrilla war broke out in Spain against Napoleon's army, it spread to other areas under French rule. The guerrillas who declared war on the Israeli army may yet carry it into the West Bank. (It's a well-known fact that the Likud is trying to beef up imports.) Moreover, it seems that Gush Emunim will not rest until such a situation develops, for the Likud, Gush Emunim, Tehiya and their assorted allies would like to abolish the rights of the Palestinian people — forever. Now, what would an Israeli youth say to such a fate? Don't look to Sharon, Eitan, or Gush Emunim for an answer; they have none. The "nationalist camp's" professional patriots clam up when asked to reply. But then again, they're not manning the tanks, armoured vehicles, and jeeps; they're tucked away in *yeshivas* far from the front, basking in the security provided by the young men (the majority of whom are secular) whose lives are in danger the minute they cross over into Lebanon.

When a guerrilla war is conducted against a democratic country, such as England (in southern Africa), France (in Algeria) or the United States (in southeast Asia), one of two things can happen: either the gorillas abolish the democratic rights of their countrymen (eg, the attempted coup of the generals in France), or the democratic forces prevail over the gorillas. Now that our gorillas are preparing themselves for the first option, the people of Israel must be alerted to the dangers at hand and mobilise to press the government into choosing the second of the above-mentioned alternatives.

In summation, if we want to safeguard ourselves against the rise of candidates for the role of national gorillas in the future, we must establish an official commission of inquiry into the Lebanese War. If a commission of inquiry was set up to investigate Arlosorof's * death, then there are 610 [number of Israeli dead as of March 1 — ed] more reasons to set one up to investigate the conduct of "Operation Peace for Galilee." (Translation: Al Hamishmar, March 1, 1985)

* *Haim Arlosorof was a left-wing Zionist who was assassinated in the early '30s. A member of the Revisionist Union (predecessor of the Likud) was tried and found guilty of his murder. In 1982, Menachem Begin set up a commission to investigate the affair in keeping with his policy of rewriting Israeli history — translator.* ■

Israel's Brutal Indifference: **Sharonism Equals Apathy**

by Heda Boshes

I don't know whether there is such a thing as historic justice, much as we bandy the concept about, but without a doubt history takes a toll. And in the case of the Lebanese war, the toll was, and continues to be, heavy indeed. I'm referring not only to the appalling loss of life it has caused but also to the moral decline it has wrought. For it would seem that we have fallen prey to the Lebanese malady, the incurable contagion that we were first exposed to at the start of the war in the resort town of Junieh (north of Beirut), whose convivial streets were bustling with people unabashedly out for a good time and totally indifferent to what was happening a few scarce metres away; the people who populated the luxurious hotels, crowded into the expensive restaurants, and sprawled on the beaches (in the latest fashions) seemed to be inhabiting another world. At the time I voiced my fear that we too would fall prey to the Junieh syndrome; we were not, I said, properly inoculated against it.

Today the Junieh syndrome has become embedded in the fabric of Israeli life. It manifests itself in a dangerous form of apathy and indifference. The equation is: Sharonism equals apathy. It's the corollary of the insidious violence that has taken hold of us and extended its grip all the way from Tyre to Neve Avivim. Our new moral insensitivity, frivolity, and inability to respond appropriately to what is happening around us stand in sharp contrast to the concern that was such an integral part of the Israeli scene for so many years; a concern that was considered part and parcel of our everyday life to the extent that it was almost taken for granted. But over the past few years, apathy has blunted the country's political and social sensibilities, not only robbing Israeli society of its vibrancy but also making it downright repulsive at times.

War Blotted Out

The public response to the casualties of the Lebanese war is a revealing indicator of the degree to which this apathy has insinuated itself into Israeli society. The death of an Israeli soldier was once considered a national tragedy, cause enough to pitch the country into a state of mourning. In fact, there were times when the newspapers came out with black margins. Provincial, perhaps, nonetheless it expressed the mood of the people: we all grieved as one, like a single grief-stricken family.

But with more than 600 war dead and the casualties mounting every day, we have become apathetic about the deaths of Israeli soldiers. Until quite recently, ministers and governmental officials didn't even bother attending the funerals of fallen soldiers; nor did they visit the bereaved families; nor did they even so much as pay a visit to the wounded in hospital. Over 3900 men have been wounded in this war — some of them have been crippled for life. But they and their families have been avoided like the plague, for nothing is allowed to interrupt the daily routine of public life.

Former Defence Minister Arens and the present Labour Alignment ministers have revived the custom of attending the funerals of fallen soldiers and visiting the bereaved families and the wounded. But the man responsible for the Lebanese war, Minister Ariel Sharon, has yet to be seen by the bedside of a wounded soldier or at the funeral of one of the casualties of his war. However, he did find time to attend the funeral of a soldier who was recently shot in Ramallah; it provided him with an opportunity to whip up the public and demonstrate his stand on the occupied territories. But when it comes to the bereaved parents, his response is one of total indifference; he ignores them and avoids answering the charges levelled against him.

Sharon Escaped Guilt and Blame

The man who dragged us into the quagmire of Lebanon does not seem to be moved by the loss of life. Unruffled by the mounting death toll, he is now busy trying to thwart the withdrawal. When pressed to the wall he defends his insensitivity by drawing analogies between himself and Moshe Dayan. But the analogy does not hold: in 1973 Israel did not initiate the war; moreover, the bereaved parents hounded Moshe Dayan [who, being minister of defence at the time, was held responsible for the military debacle Israel suffered during the first days of the war] and did not let up even after he had resigned from the ministry of defence. No one has taken to the streets demanding that Sharon be forced to answer for the catastrophe he wreaked upon Israel. There have been no protest demonstrations against the man who led us into this mad adventure.

Does he lose sleep at night? Does he feel oppressed by his conscience? Do the deaths trouble him? It doesn't seem so. He recently had the gall to appear in New York as "the representative of the Jewish people" although no one delegated him to that role. Of course, there have been critical articles in the press, but no one has gone out into the streets and demanded that he be put in his place! The only we time we were roused out of our passivity was after Sabra and Shatila, when we demanded that a committee of inquiry be set up. Afterwards, tempers cooled and we sank back into apathy and inertia.

And our apathy isn't confined to Sharon, that living personification of the brutal indifference engulfing us. At present there's a Knesset debate on the withdrawal from Lebanon. Although it's a matter of the gravest national import, the chamber is almost empty. The ministers and honourable MKs have more pressing business to attend to — in the Knesset cafeteria. One soldier more or less, one more casualty, one more wounded soldier, do not seem to worry the consciences of the public's representatives.

What holds true for Lebanon also applies to other important and fateful areas of public life. The Knesset is not at all out of the ordinary in this regard. The restaurants are overflowing; a new nightclub or pub seems to sprout up every second day. It's almost as if a conscious effort is being made to banish the grim realities of Lebanon to another galaxy by fostering a diverting atmosphere of merrymaking.

Nothing can shake the average Israeli out of his complacency. Stick to

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Women's Struggle In the PRM: A Critique

by Rosemary Sayigh

It is inconceivable that the Palestinian revolution should not be accompanied by the liberation of the Palestinian woman. I am not talking of the bourgeois woman... I am talking of the ordinary woman of the people, who is, even in her present situation, an extremely dynamic and revolutionary element

Jean Genet

We must begin by recognising that the silence and distortion that surround Palestinian women * are not a true reflection of their passivity — far from it — but are the signs of an exclusion from history that they share with women generally, and also with peasants as a class. Their problem is not primarily a problem of oppression by their own society, but of colonialism, and to put the two problems on an equal footing is to make a false start. This is what Jean Genet grasped instinctively as he watched a middle-aged Palestinian woman going about her domestic tasks in Wihdat camp, in 1970, with a Kalashnikov rifle slung over her shoulder. Colonialists and missionaries have always claimed (and perhaps even believed) that they were liberating the natives from cruel and degrading family practices (eg *suttee*, footbinding, polygamy), only to put less visible forms of oppression in their place.

To understand Palestinian women's situation and responses, we first must identify the basic conditions that shape the Palestinian struggle: i) an opponent of more than ordinary ambitions and resources; ii) an imbalance of forces such that there is little likelihood of even minimal national objectives being reached in the near future; iii) lack of a territory from which to launch a struggle or to develop autonomously; iv) dispersion, which facilitates repression, and makes difficult the reproduction of the community; v) the repeated crushing and scattering of the national movement, preventing the accumulation of organisational experience, self-knowledge, and records ** and, vi) a vulnerability to economic exploitation arising directly out of political disenfranchisement.

All these conditions interact to produce an exceptionally harsh, intractable struggle, fragmented in time and in space, punctuated by spasms of genocidal violence. In periods when the national leadership is effaced — as it was in 1948 and may be again — it falls mainly upon family units to transmit the Palestinian idea. Where state-level organisation subordinates and excludes women, family-level organisation tends to revolve around them. Matrifocality is one of many answers to class or national oppression.

On the face of it, the protractedness of the Palestinian struggle seems to offer Palestinian women a golden chance to consolidate their position within the national movement before the establishment of a state. It would seem to give them time to acquire the skills of organisation, carry out studies, present plans for change in family law — in short, to negotiate their status in the future society at a time when their participation is needed. The relative ease with which Algerian women were demobilised after independence has been attributed to the fact that they were recruited into the resistance only in its final stages and had no time to build their own movement. Palestinian women, in contrast, have had their own organisation since 1929; their mass recruitment into the PRM (Palestinian Resistance Movement) began soon after the Six-Day War (1967); and it was they who were at the basis of the remarkable expansion of socio-medical-cultural services in Lebanon under the PRM. The fruits of this experience appear in the discussions and critiques published in Beirut during the revolutionary period.

But the idea of the "golden chance" is misleading in that it ignores the way that the intractability of the crisis holds back organisational evolution, forcing Palestinians back into a struggle for mere survival. For women, this has the effect of reinforcing their role, concrete or symbolic, in the reproduction of the community. Genocidal and ethnocidal threats can only deepen this tendency, particularly when, in the short run, there is nothing to be gained by mass mobilisation. At its most basic and most obvious, this trend is clear in the powerful pronatalist pressures that women are exposed to, and which they transmit to each other. But it takes other forms as well: in the difficult material conditions in which domestic labour is carried out; the permanent insecurity of the home itself; the difficulties of child-rearing and keeping up family ties in the face of attack, oppression, and migration; and, at the symbolic level, the way that women are conscripted into representing the threatened culture.

> To understand Palestinian women's situation and responses, we first must identify the basic conditions that shape the Palestinian struggle.

Palestinian women were not slow to join the national struggle movement; the movement was not slow to understand its need for their participation. What makes this participation problematic is the nature of the struggle itself, which realised only a brief period (1967-82) when women could be freely mobilised. It was during this period that women began to wrestle with the conflict between the political-productive roles they aspired to and the reproductive one imposed on them by what many would call their "lagging reality" — a dilemma not unique to Palestinian women but one that presents itself to them in a particulary acute form. Some of their answers were already becoming apparent by 1982.

Mobilisation

In the aftermath of the crushing defeat of the Arab armies in 1967, women in the West Bank were instructed to collect arms abandoned by the Jordanians and to carry out the first acts of resistance. In Jordan, secret women's cells were formed, and, after Karameh (March 1968), women began to be recruited into the Resistance groups in relatively large numbers, receiving basic political and military training.

Fatah's policy was pragmatic, on the whole organising women separately from men; giving them military training, but also setting them to work in support activities that were "natural" extensions of their domestic skills — nursing, providing food and uniforms for the fighters, setting up the social and cultural institutions that accompanied armed struggle. A rough division of labour emerged, with younger women being sent to the camps to organise and train women there and older ones directed into administration. This generational and functional gap was to prove a lasting and bitter one.

Autocritiques

In the aftermath of Black September and the transfer to Lebanon, a small group within the GUPW undertook a study of the lessons provided by the Jordanian experience. Outdated now, it nonetheless remains a serious and valuable attempt to evaluate women's experiences in the Resistance. What follows is a summary of some of its main points:

a) Most women cadres said that the PRM's lack of a theory relating armed struggle to social change is a major weakness. It is not enough to raise the slogan that women's liberation will come through their taking part in the national struggle because this is to ignore the social obstacles that prevent women, especially the mass of women, from full participation. * The PRM needs a clear stand and a programme for changing gender relations inside the Revolution.**

b) In relation to problems with their families, most women interviewed said that their families respected their work; but, of these, most had male kin in the PRM.

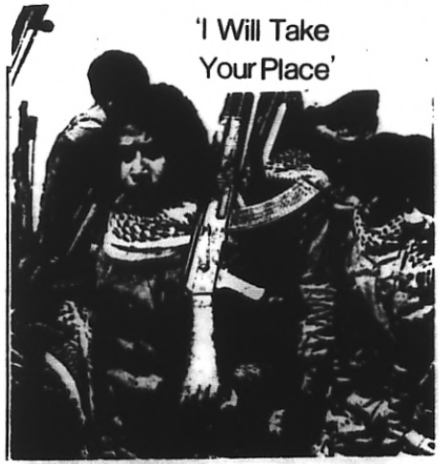
c) Freedom for women to get involved in struggle seemed closely linked to crisis, with families reasserting their control in periods of stagnation. This made it all the more necessary, women cadres said, for the PRM to come out clearly with programmes for change.

d) Most of the women cadres saw little change in the situation of the mass of women since the beginning of the Revolution and they saw most women as unaware, or only partly aware, of their social oppression. This was less true of women workers than of housewives.

e) Commenting on their experience in the Resistance parties, women spoke of some male comrades as "dominated by convention." It is clear that women had been limited to special functions and subordinate levels, but it is probable that party loyalty made them repress more specific complaints.

Crisis and Revolutionary Development in Lebanon

Though the period of PRM existence in Lebanon saw a gradual freezing of armed struggle, this was partly concealed by the atmosphere of crisis caused by escalating attack from Israel and the Lebanese Right. It was possible from 1976 on to see concrete changes in camp women's lives. Briefly:



'I Will Take Your Place'

a) A widespread provision of post-school technical and professional training courses for girls and women even in rural camps.

In addition, there was the great literacy drive of 1977-82, with its slogan: "Literacy Is a Revolutionary Duty."

b) A greatly increased demand for women's labour was generated by the expansion of PRM institutions; their national character and the qualifications

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Development or Pacification?

Palestinians Question UNDP Policy

by Daoud Kuttab

For the past six years the UNDP has been involved locally in a special programme of development assistance to the Palestinian people. Over this time, the UNDP has spent US$7.5 million on local projects but their work has been invisible, so much so that Palestinian community leaders and area development experts have little knowledge of the programmes and activity of the organisation. When asked about UNDP, many local Palestinians responded, "UNDP-Who?" According to UNDP officials their low profile is a result of restrictions imposed by the Israeli government, not only on what projects can be implemented but also on whom UNDP officials can talk to, visit or consult.

As for any foreign development activity, Palestinians in the occupied territories are concerned about: How independent is the UNDP programme? How extensive is the role of the Israeli authorities? Who initiates the various projects? How does the local community participate? Do UNDP projects help alleviate the responsibility of the military authorities prescribed under international law? Is the PLO, which is supposed to be an equal partner in this UNDP project, aware of how the UNDP implements their mandate? Are the Arab countries who are major contributors to UNDP's overall budget aware of how their money is being spent?

UNDP Programme for Palestinians

The United Nations Development programme, an inter-governmental agency active in 160 countries, is geared to educating and training people in underdeveloped areas. The special programme for development assistance to the Palestinian people originated in UN General Assembly Resolution 33/147 approved on December 20, 1978. The UN General Assembly called on the UNDP to identify the social and economic needs of the Palestinian people and to establish concrete projects to that end. According to the resolution, "project planning and implementation of activities would be carefully reviewed with governments directly concerned and with the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO)."

Although the UNDP usually operates through governments rather than individuals or private bodies, one of the main points of this special Palestinian mandate was that "in no circumstances would UNDP transfer funds to a government or other intermediary to permit it to function as a surrogate for UNDP in supervising the implementation of a project or portion of the project." This clause was the result of Palestinian and Arab pressure to ensure that the funds earmarked for Palestinians would not go through Israeli hands or be used as substitute funding by the occupation authorities.

In 1979 the UNDP governing council authorised the sum of US$3.5 million for aid to be used until the end of the UNDP programming cycle in 1981.

After the special programme was approved, UNDP sent experts to survey the situation in the occupied territories and make recommendations on which areas most needed attention. International consultants in the fields of health, education, industry, agriculture, and economics were dispatched to the area for the project surveys. In 1980, after their detailed plans had been approved by Israel, Jordan and the PLO, the UNDP began development assistance to Palestinians. All of the projects were concentrated in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, except for one which aimed at assisting Palestinian poultry and dairy farmers in Syria.

Israeli Roadblocks

From the beginning, the Israeli government expressed strong reservations about the proposed programme for assistance to Palestinians. The Israelis objected particularly to the involvement of another UN organisation in the area and were furious at the idea of giving the PLO an equal role in the approval of any project. The Israeli objection was so strong that the chief administrator of the UNDP, Bradford Morse, based in New York, personally intervened with the Israeli government in order to obtain their consent.

John Olver, a senior advisor to Morse and the supervisor of the Palestinian assistance programme, met with *Al Fajr* this past month and spoke about UNDP's problems and future plans. Olver said that when Morse came to Israel in 1979 to persuade the reluctant Israeli foreign and defence ministers, Moshe Dayan and Ezer Weizman, they conditioned their agreement with restrictions on the work and movement of UNDP activities and personnel. The Israeli Defence Ministry, through the office of the Israeli army's coordinator of activities, retained the right to veto projects. Israel also stipulated that the "movements of the UNDP coordinator and his staff in Israel and the occupied territories would be subject to the advance approval of the governing (Israeli) authorities."

According to Olver, Israel maintained the right to veto the inclusion of particular Palestinians on any of UNDP's programmes, and even UNDP contacts with them. UNDP officials refused to give the names of Palestinians whose participation had been barred by the authorities. "The question of names is a very sensitive point," said Nikitas Nevrodis, the UNDP programme director of operations.

The Israeli government also stipulated from the very beginning of the programme that Jerusalem would not be included in the scope of the UNDP operations. Israel has considered East Jerusalem an integral part of the state since its annexation of the city shortly after the 1967 war. Despite the fact that the United Nations has passed a number of resolutions opposing this annexation and despite the fact that not one UN member country (including the US) has recognised the annexation, the UNDP bowed to the Israeli condition and excluded East Jerusalem from its development work.

Israel also insisted that the UNDP could not have an office in the area or a permanent staff. Hence UNDP closed its Israeli office in 1977. This restriction has made it almost impossible for Palestinians to contact UNDP officials.

Perhaps the most trying period for the UNDP in the occupied territories occurred in 1982 when, according to Olver, Professor Menachem Milson, initiator of the Israeli "civil administration" in the West Bank, planned to cancel the programme's activities in the West Bank and Gaza. According to Olver, the decision was cancelled before Milson resigned his post.

Until 1983, UNDP officials would only visit the area for short periods of time and travel in the West Bank and Gaza accompanied by Israeli officials. These restrictions meant that members of the community could not initiate contacts with the agency; they had to wait to be contacted. Early in 1983 a UNDP field officer, William Kwan, was finally stationed in Jerusalem to manage operations on a permanent basis. But even Kwan was not permitted to have an office so he was forced to work from his house and depend on his answering machine when away from home. It took *Al Fajr* more than three months to get in touch with the UNDP official staff. Personnel at other UN offices in Jerusalem were unable to give any information except for providing Kwan's telephone number and the number of the UNDP headquarters in New York.

PLO Role

The Palestine Liberation Organisation, as the sole representative of the Palestinian people, received a formal boost by being included as an equal partner in the planning and approval of the development project. *The New York Times* commented on this aspect when it wrote about the UNDP's programme under the headline "PLO Involved in Developing the West Bank."

Zuhdi Tarazi, the PLO permanent observer to the UN in New York, has been directly involved in consultations with UNDP officials since the programme was initiated. In the Middle East UNDP officials were requested to keep in constant contact with PLO officials in Damascus. But John Olver said that meetings with PLO Executive Committee members Husni Nashashibi and Walid Qamhawi were not held regularly. "Nashashibi and Qamhawi were not fully aware of the situation that we were dealing with, and Damascus was a bit out of our way," explained Olver.

He therefore travelled to Tunis in June of 1984 and met with PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat, whom he said he found well-informed about the programme and understanding of the complications facing the UNDP programme in the occupied territories. Arafat told Olver to start dealing with PLO officials in Amman and assigned PLO Executive Committee member Jawid Ghousin, who is based in Amman, to deal with UNDP. During a recent visit to Amman early this year, programme coordinator Nevrodis met with Ghousin and with deported Halhoul Mayor Mohammed Milhem, who was elected to the Executive Committee of the PLO during the latest session of the PNC in Amman. According to Nevrodis, Milhem and Ghousin were well-informed of the situation in the occupied territories.

Arab Funding

The Arab Gulf states, particularly Saudi Arabia, are important contributors to UNDP as a whole. More specifically UNDP officials hope they will be able to obtain additional funding from the oil-rich Arab states for several projects they plan to implement in the occupied territories in the near future. Olver told *Al Fajr* that he was almost sure Saudi Prince Talal would contribute some US$2 million to the programme from the AG fund, a special Arab fund from which grants are made to international organisations that contribute to third world development.

Arab financial backing is very important to UNDP officials and this is one reason why they are trying hard to improve their image among the Arab funders. UNDP officials feel particularly worried after reports that Prince Talal and the Saudi Arabian delegation is planning to withdraw from UNICEF to protest the way the UN children's relief works in complete coordination with the Israeli occupation authorities.

Style of Work

Although different from UNICEF's style, UNDP's work policy and general approach are sometimes queried by Palestinians. Whereas UNICEF directly finances the Israeli-run social welfare department in the West Bank and Gaza, UNDP insists it has remained independent in implementing various projects. They are carried out directly by UNDP and on many occasions UNDP has placed stickers on items of furniture and machinery donated to Palestinian organisations to make it clear that they were donated by UNDP, not by the various Israeli departments that distribute the items.

Nevertheless, Palestinians still complain that the Israelis play a major role in the initiation and planning of UNDP programmes. UNDP officials denied that Israel plays a deciding role in the planning of projects but they did admit that they solicit Israeli suggestions and in many cases adopt these suggestions. When questioned about specific projects, UNDP officials insisted they must deal with Israel and Israeli officials in order to continue functioning.

Palestinians critical of UNDP cite examples of areas where UNDP officials have accepted Israeli suggestions. Dr Hatem Abu Ghazaleh, head of the Sun Society for Handicapped Children in Gaza, told *Al Fajr* that the aid UNDP gave to the Shifa government hospital was apparently influenced by an Israeli "suggestion." Abu Ghazaleh explained that Shifa — the only government-run hospital in the city of Gaza — is a "pigpen" and unworthy of the US$1 million that UNDP has put into it over the past two years. Furthermore, he explained, by funding Shifa Hospital, UNDP officials are actually lightening the load on the occupation budget: according to international law, the occupying power is responsible for guaranteeing adequate health care. Other Gaza residents complain that the money spent on the X-ray units, medical theatre and other equipment UNDP donated to Shifa Hospital should have been used instead for productive projects that could help the local economy stand on its feet. Gazans were even more ired by this donation because the Israelis collect health insurance fees from each Gazan worker which are supposed to be used to improve government hospitals.

By contrast, UNDP only gave US$50,000 in machinery to Gaza's Ahli Hospital, a private hospital run by the Anglican Church, despite repeated requests by Palestinian leaders to help the private institutions. Another project which UNDP has opted to fund — again apparently at Israeli instigation — is a sewage system in the Khan Yunis area. The system, which will cost US$5 million in the first stage, is unusually large for UNDP programmes and will drain its budget, critics say.

> "UNDP OFFICIALS ARE ACTUALLY LIGHTENING THE LOAD ON THE OCCUPATION BUDGET."
>
> Dr Abu Ghazaleh

Public vs. Private Controversy

The controversy over whether international development organisations should help public or private projects has often been applied to UNDP as well. Local Palestinians think development organisations that aim to promote Palestinian development must concentrate on working with the private sector. Dr Samir Katbeh, former executive director of the West Bank Council of Higher Education, says that any aid to public agencies from outside organisations "simply relieves the occupation budget from what it is obliged to do and frees up these funds for settlement and military expenditures which harm the Palestinian people."

UNDP coordinator Nevrodis totally rejects this argument. "We all know that the Israeli authorities are not interested in improving the present unacceptable situation, If we do not help, it is the Palestinian people who will suffer." Nevrodis argues emotionally that when a Palestinian doctor working in a government hospital tells him that a medical instrument the UNDP donated has saved a Palestinian child's life, "that is enough."

Ibrahim Matar, a Palestinian economist who has followed UNDP's work here since it began, told *Al Fajr*, "In principle, I am opposed to any international organisation working through or for government agencies, but the situation obliges UNDP to work through governmental structures, and our role is to convince them gradually that work in the private sector is more constructive." Matar pointed out that over the years UNDP has "come a long way in moving more and more towards the private sector."

UNDP officials are proud, for example, that they will soon initiate a much-needed olive oil grading laboratory through a local cooperative. Olver said that when UNDP first began work, "cooperatives" was considered a bad word that they were not allowed to use. Other private sector projects include helping Gaza fishermen by buying them machines to look for fish and supporting a citrus-processing industry in Gaza and a grape juice jam canning company in the Hebron area (see box).

The olive oil laboratory project itself became a source of controversy. When UNDP applied for approval, the Israelis accepted — on the condition that the project would be carried out by the Israeli Department of Agriculture. Palestinian groups and individuals as well as foreign aid societies strongly objected to this condition and the UNDP had to return to the Israelis and were able to convince them to allow the project through a local cooperative.

A programme of sending 20 Palestinian industrialists for a six-week training course in Italy and Cyprus proved to be very beneficial. Mohammed Hassouneh, owner of the Electrode factory in Hebron, said the course gave local industrialists many new ideas and has also helped unite them for collective action.

Development vs. Pacification

Another controversy that surrounds UNDP programmes relates to the general aims of development organisations. Palestinians believe that aid coming from international agencies must be channeled to develop the local economy and reduce its dependence on the Israeli economy. The Israelis, on the other hand, strongly oppose development that increases productivity and instead prefer service-related aid. Aid to hospitals and kindergartens is far preferable, in their eyes, than aid to farmers and industrialists.

All international aid organisations working in the occupied territories are confronted with the same dilemma. Meron Benvenisti, an Israeli researcher who runs the West Bank Data Base Project, published a report recently accusing the Israeli military administrator of vetoing development projects for international organisations. Benvenisti concluded that much of outside aid that comes to the occupied territories serves only to pacify the area, not develop it. Critics of UNDP say that it deals with the Israelis passively and does not use the clout it could potentially muster in

Continued on page 13

UNDP Projects

Below is a list of projects carried out by UNDP or planned for the future as reported in UNDP's April 1984 official briefing. Notes in italics are the writer's:

PRE-PRIMARY EDUCATION (US$255,500): UNDP has financed three teachers' seminars to provide training to 234 pre-primary education teachers. Furniture, which was manufactured locally, and educational toys and games at a cost of US$213,000 were distributed to 94 kindergartens in the West Bank and 26 in the Gaza Strip. [*Kindergartens in villages opposed to the Village Leagues were initially excluded from the aid projects.*]

TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION (US$395,000): The project focuses on supplementing existing vocational courses, operated by UNRWA, governmental services, and private organisations, to meet the critical needs in this sector. [*The government-run vocational schools received the lion's share of help.*]

DEVELOPMENT AND STRENGTHENING OF HEALTH INSTITUTIONS (US$619,220): This project responds to the urgent needs of hospitals, nursing facilities, and other medical institutions for medical and laboratory equipment, teaching aids, library books and supplies, and vehicles. [*Most of the institutions helped are run by the military government.*]

SPECIALISED TRAINING PROGRAMME IN AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT (US$104,570): The project was designed to provide advanced studies to farmers and relevant officials in the production of selected crops, agricultural extension and UNDP has financed ten (10) fellowships for specialised training in various agricultural fields in the United States. [*All agricultural consultants sent are in the West Bank agriculture department under the Israeli military government.*]

CHILDREN'S INSTITUTIONS (US$402,000): A vocational rehabilitation centre was established in Gaza to train about 25-40 adolescents suffering from various physical disabilities and mild mental retardation, with equipment and personnel (instructors) financed by UNDP. A similar institution for 25 mentally handicapped boys was set up in the West Bank with UNDP financed equipment and personnel, including qualified nurses and social workers, to provide residential treatment and training. [*The Gaza centre is run by the Israeli social service department.*]

DEVELOPMENT OF HEALTH INSTITUTIONS (US$390,000): UNDP has provided, under this project, a complete Ultra-Sound machine for Shifa Hospital in Gaza and equipment for two mobile tuberculosis detection and treatment centres in the West Bank.

UNDP has also provided a Cap-Mobile Capacitor Discharge Mobile X-Ray Machine to the Ahli Arab Hospital in Gaza, as an extended support to health care in the private sector. [*Funds for the privately run Ahli Hospital were far less than those to the government hospitals.*]

SPECIALISED TRAINING IN INDUSTRIAL MANAGEMENT (US$114,000): To meet urgent training needs in industrial management, owners/managers of small businesses participated in a specialised training course organised by the International Centre for Advanced Technical and Vocational Training in Turin, Italy. [*The project, which included private Palestinian industrialists, was perhaps the most successful.*]

HEALTH MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT (US$948,000): UNDP funds a number of fellowships in medicine, surgery, nursing and midwifery, environmental and sanitary, and paramedical services. [*Most of the recipients are employed by the Israeli military government.*]

AGRICULTURAL TRAINING (US$356,000): Located in the Syrian Arab Republic, this is the only project outside the West Bank and Gaza. The project assists Palestinian farmers through the provision of expertise and some equipment at one site, whilst assistance in improving productivity is provided at another site to Palestinian poultry and dairy cattle farmers.

YOUTH PROGRAMME (US$169,000): UNDP has agreed to provide fellowships to participate in training programmes and workshops to acquire skills in community development and administration.

MEDICAL SERVICES TRAINING CENTRE (US$2,000,000): UNDP has allocated US$2 million under this project for the construction of the Centre to replace existing facilities for nursing training in the West Bank, which were operating under intolerable and makeshift conditions. In the new premises courses will, for the first time, be available in nursing specialities, and for medical technicians. [*At first the Israelis wanted this project under their wings. Under pressure from Palestinians, UNDP rejected the Israeli offer and is now thinking of running the centre itself. Palestinian architects designed the construction. It has not yet been implemented.*]

TRAINING IN HOUSING (US$146,850): Training courses for 20-25 Palestinian professionals (architects, engineers, planners, public officials) in the housing field were conducted. [*The West Bank Engineers' Union was consulted on this project and offered a list of candidates.*]

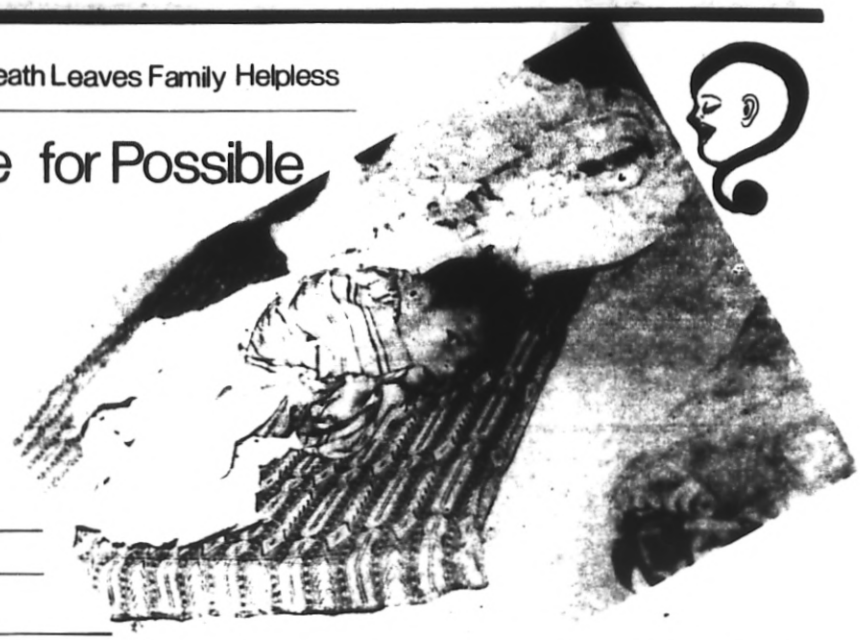
TRAINING IN ANAESTHESIOLOGY (US$300,000): UNDP organised a two-year training course to train 30 anaesthesiologists for both the West Bank and Gaza. [*The course has been implemented in association with the government-run Shifa Hospital.*]

TULKARM AND AL-ARROUB AGRICULTURAL HIGH SCHOOLS (US$224,000): After examining the existing facilities at Tulkarm and al-Arroub, UNDP is in agreement with the authorities that relatively modest inputs could transform these marginal institutions into a dynamic force for development in the agricultural sector.

UNDP has drawn up plans to assist these two institutions by providing the necessary equipment and teaching aids to improve the facilities. In addition, advisory services will be provided to improve the quality of the teaching staff. [*Both institutes are run by the Israelis.*]

Woman's Mysterious Death Leaves Family Helpless

No Recourse for Possible Malpractice Complaints



by Maher Abukhater

The 18-year-old occupation of the West Bank has left in its wake many deficiencies in education, health, and at the social level in general. In the health arena, the level of hospitals, physicians and general staff is low, as reflected in the large number of complaints reported each year. But residents of the occupied territories have no avenue to receive an impartial review of possible malpractice cases. *Al Fajr* talked to physicians and patients to see how they are trying to cope with this serious and sad problem.

Um Ribhi, 40, a healthy pregnant woman, was admitted to a local hospital January 12 for delivery. Several hours later she gave birth to a normal baby girl. The child was the thirteenth for that family. The mother, who had borne 14 children, (one died in infancy), decided the family was large enough. She was scheduled for a tubal ligation the next day.

On the day of the operation, the woman was given an anaesthesia injection. Within seconds, according to her husband Abu Ribhi, who was later informed of the developments by the hospital, Um Ribhi suffered a cardiac arrest. Resuscitation proved fruitless, and minutes later the woman was pronounced dead. She left behind nine sons and four daughters — the oldest was 24 and the youngest only one-day-old. Stunned by the death of the mother and believing they could not adequately care for the new infant, the family left the baby in the hospital for two weeks before deciding to place her under the care of a local charitable organisation. But the eldest daughter, a 19-year-old who was now the chief caretaker for the children, was adamant about the matter, so the family later relented and took their new-born baby home.

Whether medical malpractice or unavoidable accident, the incident has brought tragedy to one local family. Many unexplained "accidents" occur in medical institutions in the occupied territories but most attract no attention and do not require accountability from the person or institution at fault. This is primarily due to the political situation of the occupied Palestinian population, which places them in an impossible dilemma: if they sue an Arab hospital for malpractice in an Israeli court, Israel — the occupier — may be handed an excuse to shut down an Arab institution. Alternatively, they can weather the blow in the hope that the hospital or nationalist institution will take action itself to prevent the recurrence of similar lethal mistakes.

There is another channel for malpractice complaints — the West Bank branch of the Jordanian Medical Association (JMA), which represents local hospitals and physicians. This option, yet to be proven effective, has been tried at least once: the JMA formed a committee of professional physicians who reportedly found a local hospital negligent in a case that could have resulted in a patient's death. No action was taken, however, and the complainant is still pursuing the case. In a given year, the JMA receives between 25-35 complaints from disgruntled patients, but details on the cases or on the JMA's response were not made available.

The JMA has a complaints committee responsible which hears patients who feel they have been mistreated in Arab hospitals. After it receives a complaint, the committee studies it to decide whether the case requires further investigation. If malpractice is suspected, a review committee of three physicians is set up — one selected by the complainant, another by the defendant and the third by the JMA. The committee's procedures are not known. If the committee finds malpractice, it would be expected that punitive action be taken against the physician or institution responsible. However, there are no documented cases in which punitive measures have ever been taken against any physician or hospital.

The JMA claims it does not have the power to implement any decision it reaches. It claims that in the absence of a Palestinian national government to back it up, no matter what the decision is, its powers are negligible. But this is not the only problem. The JMA is engulfed in political disagreements which hamper its work to a great extent. Even though the JMA is supposedly a branch of the Amman headquarters operating under the powers of the Jordanian Health Ministry, Jordan does not back its decisions. Local physicians blame this on the fact that West Bank hospitals are inaccessible to investigation and supervision directly by ministry health officials. But another important factor is that Jordan tries to use what influence it has over Palestinian institutions in the occupied territories to force them to follow its political line regarding Middle East developments. This hidden politicisation of the JMA created an unofficial split into pro- and anti-Jordan camps inhibiting, as a result, the little influence it may have had over West Bank hospitals. The losers are the Palestinian population, who are gradually discovering that malpractice cases pass uninvestigated because there is no central Palestinian authority with executive powers which can hold physicians and hospitals accountable for negligence.

Physicians have often said that malpractice could be minimised if hospitals had the staff needed to run them. West Bank hospitals, particularly the Arab hospitals in East Jerusalem, suffer from a shortage of professional staff. The most serious problem is the lack of anaesthesiologists and other specialists.

The physicians blame the Israeli government for putting unreasonable and unnecessary regulations on Arab hospitals in the occupied territories. In order to obtain Israeli certification, which Israel insists on for all pysicians and technicians, including Palestinians working in the occupied territories, the applicant must work in an Israeli hospital for a period of months under an Israeli staff. The Israelis refuse to even recognise medical degrees of Arab specialists unless they meet criteria imposed by the Israeli Health Ministry, such as work experience in a certified hospital under certified physicians. The result is that fewer physicians, especialy specialists, return to work in the occupied territories or else they choose to work in more lucrative private clinics.

For the Jerusalem Arab hospitals the problem of licensing is more severe because most of the medical school graduates and students are West Bankers. Israeli law bans Palestinians from the rest of the West Bank from living or working in Jerusalem without a permit from the West Bank military government. Physicians complain that the Israeli military has refused to give work permits to West Bank medical technicians to work in Jerusalem hospitals, exacerbating shortages of certified technicians.

While the bureaucrats fight over who to blame for malpractice and how to prevent future cases, the public is losing faith in the ability of its health institutions to monitor the quality of health care.

PHYSICIANS HAVE OFTEN SAIDTHAT MALPRACTICE COULD BE MINIMISED IF HOSPITALS HAD THE STAFF NEEDED TO RUN THEM

In the tragic case of Um Ribhi, Abu Ribhi told *Al Fajr* that he discussed the incident with many physicians. None have been able to tell him what really happened. He is certain that they know more facts than they are telling. He is worried that the file on his wife will be closed and that her death will be ruled "God's will." He also charges that because local physicians know one another, they tend to cover for each other's mistakes. He believes that hospitals would not want to publicise any malpractice case, even if the mistake was made by a junior staff member, in fear of bad publicity and the possibility that the Israeli Health Ministry would be standing by, ready to shut down the institution. ■

Art Exhibit Forum for Opposition to Occupation

by Baher al-Ashhab

Oil on Canvas, untitled. **Adnan Zbeidi**

The Jerusalem opening of the "Art Against Occupation" exhibition March 2 was more a political event than an artistic one. The joint Palestinian-Israeli venture was organised to highlight opposition to the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza.

Seven months of strenuous preparations preceded the opening of this exhibit. The Committee for Solidarity with Bir Zeit University, which conceptualised and organised the conference, approached Palestinian artists through their Guild and found them ready and enthusiastic. Israeli artists, on the other hand, had to be approached individually since their union, according to committee member Raya Rotem, was not overly interested in political involvement. The committee also sought out exhibit halls and designed an itinerary plan for a multi-city tour. It also had to arrange some security precautions because right-wing extremist MK Meir Kahane, head of the Kach movement, had threatened to vandalise exhibit halls if the show went on.

The exhibit first opened on January 10 in Tel Aviv. The location was chosen because of its wide-ranging artistic activities and, according to artist Nabil Anani, because initiating a pro-Palestinian show in a politically important city was sure to attract wide media attention. The exhibit then moved to Nazareth, Rameh, Jerusalem, and Haifa.

Twenty Palestinian artists and thirty Israeli artists together provided some 120 works for the show. It had already received so much publicity from Israeli and Palestinian media inside the "green line" that over 300 curious spectators crowded into Jerusalem's Hakawati Theatre on opening night.

The audience, comprised mainly of Israelis, Europeans, and a few local Palestinians, had a chance to hear the artists and the Committee for Solidarity with Bir Zeit University outline their motives for participating in the exihibit and the objectives they had set for the tour. All emphasised the uniqueness of the event in that it united cultural forces against a common enemy and for a common cause on behalf of the Palestinian artists. Suleiman Mansour said that they "welcome cooperation with progressive Israeli artists against occupation and for the right of the artist to enjoy human and national dignity." David Reeb spoke for Israeli artists and said: "We, as Israeli artists, feel that the undemocratic atmosphere that threatens our Palestinian colleagues threatens us too. By participating in this joint exhibition, we also wish to protest against the occupation that has created conditions of cultural oppression to the point of annihilating national identity." Both speakers expressed the hope that cooperation between them would continue, especially given the success of this first joint effort.

The selection of works for inclusion in the exhibit was left mainly to the individual artists, although committees were established to supervise the procedure. "We were given the freedom to choose the work that most represented our artistic as well as political commitment," explained one Israeli artist. "The time was limited, however, and most of us offered works we had previously produced. Several artists did not necessarily address the theme as defined in the title of the exhibit." He pointed to Ibrahim Nobani's and Yitzhak Livneh's work as examples, the first being a simple arrangement of four irregular geometric shapes drawn in pencil with acrylic colouring and the second being an impressionistic rendition of highway traffic in green and white oils.

It was the actual presence of artists from the two groups and the common message they conveyed to the audience that rendered this stop of the exhibit a success. To most onlookers, it seemed the political significance of the event had greater weight than its artistic importance. Soon after the speakers had finished, the audience split up into smaller groups, all apparently discussing politics, and surrounded attending artists and showered them with politically related questions.

To serious art lovers and critics, however, the exhibit also had its intriguing aspects. The diverse artistic styles of the two enemies have scarcely been displayed side by side, and the contrast between Israeli modernism and more traditional Palestinian folk art was immediately apparent to viewers. Gershon Knispel's expressionistic oil-on-canvas depicting biblical Hagar and son in vivid flaming colours and complex brush work hung near Ibrahim Hijazi's muted romantic oil depiction of the Galilee village of Tamra. Kamal Boulatta's geometric silk screen rendering of Arabic calligraphy designs in subtle pinks and greys contrasted sharply with Arie Berkovitz's jarring neo-impressionist rendition of a man's face in spray and paint.

The Palestinian works can be described was narrative in that they portrayed Palestinian village life, including village children, folk figures, and Arab calligraphy. The bright colours portrayed the vivacity of village life. The brush work was calm and symmetrical and the style somewhat linear. Gazan artist Taysir Barakat included two works from his earlier exhibit at Hakawati in December. They seemed to attract attention for their relative complexity of shape and texture and their recognisable Egyptian influence. Nabil Anani, probably the Palestinian artist who draws most on Palestinian folklore, displayed two colourful paintings depicting life in a Palestinian village. Suleiman Mansour combined calligraphy with oil in a three-level narration that depicted occupation and oppression, perhaps Mansour's best so far. The Palestinian artists were careful, however, not to include works that stressed their victimisation in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. No scenes of violence were included; instead, calmer and more cultural subject matter was the focus of the Palestinian presentation. This was because "We wanted to address the Israeli conscience, not their emotions," explained Taysir Barakat. "We wanted to familiarise the Israeli society with our culture and heritage as well as with our artistic output. They already know about the inimical and violent conditions we have been subject to by their government and army. What they may have learned from our show is that we possess a distinct culture that is threatened with extinction," Barakat said.

Israeli artists, in contrast, chose works of a wide range of styles and subject matter. There were canvasses that hinted at discontent with government policies and military occupation, like David Reeb's *Ansar Camp*, Harold Rubin's *Homage to Kahane*, and Dalia Amotz's three-photograph montage of soldiers and Palestinian refugees. The rest of the pictures on display varied broadly in subject matter. "They are as modernist as they can be," remarked George Nastas, a local art teacher who came to see the exhibit. "They show diversity in style, technique and composition that is typical of a modernist movement and that has yet to appear on the Palestinian art scene," Nastas argued.

The sophistication and diversity of the Israeli art owes much to their divergent background and education. Michael Gitlin was born in South Africa and studied art in New York; Zvi Goldstein was born in Romania and graduated from Brazil; Gershon Knispel was born in Germany... and so on. They displayed a range of styles including abstract expressionism, surrealism, impressionism and even a Warhol takeoff. It was pleasing from an artistic point of view to witness such diversity.

The most outstanding of the Israe. art work, the one that received the most attention and praise on opening night, was Reeb's *Ansar Camp*. In blue and white, Reeb depicts three prisoners in south Lebanon's Ansar prison camp in an almost photo-journalistic manner. Blindfolded and abused, they still stand tall and defiant in what appears to be an interrogator's room. The painting was simple and direct, of a style that appealed to the Palestinian audience. Another popular work was an oil on canvas by Jacques Grinberg entitled *The Red Cross Representative Visiting the Refugees in Ethiopia*. It showed skilled gestural abstractions in monochrome wash. Texture, drawing and composition were well-balanced and effective. The exhibit moved to Haifa March 14, where it set off an uproar. Efforts to display it in the occupied territories — where a military permit is required — have thus far proven fruitless, but artists will keep trying. Tours of Europe and the US are a possibiltiy, but no definite decision has yet been made. It will depend, according to Anani, on financial considerations and sponsorship.

If it does reach the outside world, the show's artistic success will be complemented by the fulfillment of its political objectives.

Reeb explained it thus: "We would be naive to think we could radically influence a government headed by parties whose ideology is based on racism and expansionism. We would be equally naive to think we could turn Israel into a peace-loving and progressive state, end occupation of Palestinian lands, and force the creation of an independent Palestinian state. But we should not sit idle either... we can help." ■

Oil on Canvas, untitled. **Uri Dotan**

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS

Strikes staged by Palestinian political prisoners in several Israeli lock-ups, the fierce fighting on the Iran-Iran front, and the Phalangist mutiny against Lebanese President Amin Gemayel were the main stories in the local press this week.

Hunger strikes at Asqalan and Damoun prisons over conditions and treatment and protest sit-ins staged by prisoners' relatives at the Red Cross offices were written up on the front pages.

Palestinian papers reporting on the four-year-old Gulf war called on both sides to end the unnecessary violence the two countries are inflicting on one another. Most reported the Iraqi version of events.

The split within the Lebanese Phalangist Party received prominent coverage. Local papers viewed the rebellion negatively and expressed the opinion that it delayed reconciliation and encouraged separatism in Lebanon.

The Inevitable End of Invasion

Following the failure of the Israeli-American invasion of Lebanon to achieve any of its political and military aims, the rulers of Israel consoled themselves with the thought of preserving the Lahad forces as a cover for staying in south Lebanon and as an excuse to interfere in Lebanese affairs. But a surprise came that never occurred to the Israelis, as Rabin himself admits. It is the escalation of the Lebanese resistance to such a degree that it became impossible to achieve even what they had hoped was possible... ie, securing a role for the Lahad forces.

The sweeping wave of resistance even in Lahad's enclave itself indicates that the "nail of Jeha" which they wanted to keep through the iron fist does not have a "soft" place in the Lebanese solid wall to penetrate.

This emphasises that the full and unconditional Israeli withdrawal is the only option left for the rulers of Israel.

AL TALI'A
March 14

What After Mubarak's Visit?

Mubarak's visit to Washington raised many expectations and speculations. We could say that the president did all he could to convince the US of the Arab point of view. He had with him evidence of a change in the Arab position toward peace. The Egyptian president asked his American counterpart to begin dialogue with the PLO or at least with a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. Apart from courtesies, the only improvement in the American attitude is the US willingness to listen to the Arab point of view. There is no doubt that Reagan's statement that the road to peace is long and difficult does not imply that the US intends to play its role. Mubarak's visit was expected to activate the American role. The question is: Who can convince Washington to contribute effectively to the peace efforts... and when?

AL QUDS
March 15

Washington Haj Over

The obvious outcome of the recent visits by two Arab leaders to Washington was a complete failure to budge the hostile American attitude toward Arab causes. The fault does not lie on the American side as much as it lies with the Arab regimes who imagine they can change the American position through submission. Arab leaders realise this illusion but they still run after it to distract the attention of their peoples.

The Reagan administration was not content with humiliating its "allies" and "friends"; it also emphasised through its veto and increased aid to Israel that it does not care a whit for the reputation of its Arab allies.

Palestinian officials have stressed that a change in the American attitude can only be achieved through concerted Arab effort. The Washington *haj* has proven once more that the solution lies in the Arab area, not in the Oval office.

AL SHA'AB
March 16

We Preferred Not to Talk About Peace

At a recent press conference in Ottawa, Yitzhak Shamir "stressed" that foreign embassies in Israel should move to Jerusalem. We note first that neither Shamir nor any other Israeli official could have made such a statement, had it not been for Arab division.

The second point is that the statement contained two distortions: First, Shamir assumes countries that have diplomatic relations with Israel are ignorant of international law and convention. Second, Shamir ignores the fact that no Arab generation, Muslim or Christian, could accept this dream of making Jerusalem the capital of Israel, whatever the sacrifices might be.

We wanted to talk about Israel's real search for peace, but we preferred not to touch upon such a topic.

AL FAJR
March 16

Clinging to the Hope

The meeting today between Hussein and Mubarak is not unexpected following Mubarak's tour in world capitals where he presented the Jordanian-Palestinian accord. It has become clear that Mubarak's visit to Washington did not achieve any tangible result regarding US recognition of the PLO or its consent to meet a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation comprising PLO members. But this does not mean that the stalemate should be allowed to continue.

The current Arab move is different from the previous ones. There is now an Arab consensus that the PLO should participate in the making of peace. The US refusal to recognise the PLO should motivate the Arabs to coordinate a concerted move. To give in to the stalemate is to serve the enemies of our nation.

The Hussein-Mubarak meeting and the Hussein-PLO discussions are indications of more coordination. There is a ray of hope coming out of them.

AL QUDS
March 18

Murphy's New Talk

Shultz made it clear yesterday that Murphy's task in the region is to try to form a non-PLO Palestinian delegation to the "peace negotiations."

This means that we are witnessing a new US offensive that is not confined to diplomacy, but is represented by the move taken by Samir Ja'ja'. Murphy's visit to the area comes in the wake of the failure of Arab visits to Washington.

We do not think that the present tour will be more successful than the previous ones. The expected failure this time will be due to the same reasons as before.

Can any political initiative succeed if it does not explicitly recognise the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and the role of the PLO?

AL SHA'AB
March 18

The American Attitude and the Vacuum Theory

Only a few days had passed since the visit of President Husni Mubarak to Washington when a proposal was made to the US House of Representatives to move the US Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. This was a clear signal of the outcome of Mubarak's visit to Washington. The American attitude is in no need of any clarification.

In view of this, we expect the Arab side to discuss this state of affairs in an attempt to understand the reasons and circumstances for this American attitude. There must be an Arab summit. Otherwise the US attitude will remain unchanged. Will there be an Arab economic and political move to confront this US position?

AL FAJR
March 18

Agreement without Any Conditions

When the PLO reached an agreement with Jordan last month, it did not commit itself to anything beyond that agreement which is based on many Palestinian basics, and namely that the PLO is the sole representative of the Palestinian people. Any encroachment of this is an encroachment on the agreement itself.

Therefore, any attempt to get closer to the American position which rejects the PLO is necessarily counter to the Amman agreement. The US administration will, of course, try through the efforts of its envoy, Murphy, to practise pressure on the Arab side to "examine the possibility of forming a non-PLO delegation." We shall confront such an American attempt and insist on the Amman agreement.

Though we understand that rejection or acceptance is not an easy one, we realise that the "slight hope" is still there. It is connected with the ability of the PLO to realise its steps following the agreement.

AL FAJR
March 19

Stop this Tragedy

Reports convey extremely horrible pictures of the Iraq-Iran war. Thousands are being killed. Yet we do not witness a serious Arab and Islamic effort to put an end to this war. We do not see the Iranian intransigence as an excuse for Arab countries to stop their mediation unless some Arab countries want the war to go on and wish to see Iraq occupied by Iran.

The Palestinian position has been clear from the beginning. It called for an end to this war for the benefit of the Palestinian cause. Iran's refusal to heed the calls for peace makes it responsible for the thousands of victims.

Arab and Islamic countries should take a decisive and quick step to end the bloody war.

AL SHA'AB
March 19

'Beautification' of Damascus Gate Means Merchants Must Go

Ibrahim Shabaana

Citing motives of aesthetics, the Jerusalem Israeli-run municipality has begun a major drive to remove small Palestinian traders and street peddlers from the Damascus Gate area in East Jerusalem. The eviction effort was begun two months ago when local traders were served notice that their licences to sell their wares under the Gate — the hub of East Jerusalem — had been revoked.

Ibrahim Abd al-Mohsen Shabaana, who has sold newspapers and magazines at the Bab al-Amud entrance for the past 25 years, claims that an inspector from the municipality came to inform him that he was no longer allowed to stay in his customary spot. The inspector told Shabaana that the reason behind the eviction order was the municipality's desire to widen the entrance to the gate and to improve the site for tourists. Ibrahim was subsequently given a permit to move his small bookstand to the corner of Nablus Road and Paratroopers Way, at the top of the stairs leading to the Old City. Ibrahim has vehemently opposed the change, charging that he has lost business both because of competition from a newspaper salesman across the street and because of the rain and snow of the past month. He says that he used to be able to find shelter underneath the gate when the weather was bad.

Temporary After 25 Years

Ibrahim claims that he sent a letter to the municipality asking for clarification more than a month ago but that so far he has not received a response. Amir Hashin, the Jerusalem municipality's advisor for Arab affairs, reached by telephone in his office recently, aknowledged the cancellation of the permits. "The position of the newspaper seller [Ibrahim Shabaana] was temporary," he said, "even though the man may have been there for 25 years. He had a renewable permit, and we decided not to renew it. But we offered him another place."

As for the municipality's motives, Hashin said: "We have started a project to clean the gate area in order to show tourists the beauty of the place. We have a major problem with the Damascus Gate." Hashin said that other merchants with shops underneath the gate have been ordered to move but have been offered new stores a bit further into the gate area. Hashin added that an inspector is enforcing the new regulation prohibiting Palestinians to trade underneath Damascus Gate by controlling the area regularly and removing violators.

The entrance way has also been the traditional market site for centuries for produce such as herbs and small fruit, sold by women from neighbouring villages especially on the Friday holiday. The women are periodically evicted and fined by Israeli police for "unlicenced selling."

Labour Court Rules:

All Jerusalemites Eligible for Gov't Insurance Benefits

Palestinians who carry Jerusalem identity cards and reside eleswhere in the West Bank but continue to pay national insurance tax will again be eligible to receive payments from the Israeli government's national insurance, according to an agreement made March 17 at the Israeli Labour Court. The decision may cost the Israeli insurance plan millions of dollars in unpaid benefits to Jerusalem Palestinians.

For the past five years the Israeli programme, which pays out social security benefits to the elderly, widows, and the disabled as well as maternity and child benefits, stopped paying Jerusalem residents who were known to live in the West Bank. The action defied a 1973 decision by the Jerusalem Affairs ministerial committee which ruled that payments should continue to all Jerusalem residents who pay the compulsory national insurance tax.

Attorney Mazen Qubti, who represented Shufat refugee camp resident Badawi Gibran in the case, told *Al Fajr* that officials at the Israeli national insurance violated the ministerial committee decision when they decided in 1979 to stop making these payments. No ministerial committee decision was made after 1973 to change the Jerusalem Affairs committee's decision. This, he said, prompted him to petition the Labour Court in December 1983, which looks into labour disputes and national insurance claims, for an explanation from the national insurance.

During the March 17 hearing, the attorney for the national insurance institute told the court that his clients decided to rescind their decision and would resume making the payments. This decision is assumed to be retroactive to the date taxpayers stopped receiving benefits. However, Qubti said that since there was no specific court order on this issue he could not guarantee that the national insurance would pay retroactively, which means millions of dollars. In case the Israeli national insurance refuses to pay for lost benefits, Qubti said he would go to court once again. Employees of the national insurance were aware of the decision reached but, according to one employee, they have not been told to enforce it.

Between 15,000 to 20,000 Jerusalem residents live outside the Jerusalem municipality borders in the area demarcated by the Israelis as the "West Bank."

March 22, 23, 24

Exhibit: Bethlehem University exhibits *national products*. 2:00—5:00 pm Friday; 9:00—5:00 pm Saturday; 9:00—4:00 pm Sunday.

March 22

Theatre: "*Waiting for Godot*," presented by the Haifa Municipal Theatre, at the Nuzha/el—Hakawati Theatre, East Jerusalem. 7:00 pm. (Arabic and Hebrew)

March 24

Music: *Evening of Bagpipe Music* presented by Jerusalem's Orthodox Club, at the Nuzha/el-Hakawati Theatre in East Jerusalem. 7:00 pm.

March 27, 29, 31

Drama: "*From the Source to the Sorrow*," El-Hakawati Theatre's latest production, at the Nuzha/el-Hakawati Theatre, East Jerusalem, 7:00 pm. (Arabic, English translations available)

March 28

Film: "*Moliere*," shown at the Nuzha/el-Hakawati Theatre in East Jerusalem, 5:00 pm. (French, English subtitles)

March 28

Music: Evening of *Bach organ music* performed by Elizabeth Roloff at the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer, Old City, Jerusalem, 8:30 pm, Tel: (02) 282-543.

Islamic U.

continued from page 3

student council, attacked nationalist students on March 5, at 9:30 am using clubs, swords and knives... forcing them out of classrooms to beat them further with their fists, metal chairs and knives, resulting in the injury of more than 20 students." The statement also charged that this attack is part of a series of attacks on nationalist students, perpetrated by people it described as "students hiding under the cloak of religion."

Concerned Gaza residents urged the students not to resort to violence but to resolve their differences in a democratic way. Muslim clergymen in the city also denounced the clashes during Friday prayers and deemed it sacrilegious to use holy places like mosques in order to plot against fellow citizens.

A committee of prominent Palestinian figures from the West Bank and Gaza was formed at the request of the university administration to investigate what occurred on campus and to name those responsible.

UNDP Policy

Continued from page 8&9

the world community. Of 18 projects submitted in 1982 to the Israeli military headquarters, 12 were approved. Among the rejected projects were: the establishment of a multi-disciplinary research and planning centre; planning and development of higher education, a cultural heritage project aimed at strengthening local university libraries, and the establishment of an agricultural college to be attached to one of the existing universities.

In latter years the Israelis flatly rejected a suggestion by an international UNDP consultant that a small port be established in Gaza Bay to save local fishermen the trouble and cost of having to drag their boats to shore. The Israelis do not allow ports in Gaza.

For unknown reasons UNDP officials are apparently hesitant to use the clout they have in order to obtain the approval of projects. John Olver noted that the UNDP administrator has a lot of power but he admitted that he has not tried to use this power with the Israelis to obtain approval of projects. Even in the UNDP annual reports, little mention is made of the intransigence of the Israeli authorities. UNDP officials hope that one day Israelis will change. "We keep hoping for a change in policy or personnel in order to try to push our programmes through," said Olver. He added that, unlike most countries where UNDP officials deal with government experts in various fields, here in the occupied territories they have to deal with Israeli army officers whose only concern is security. When UNDP deals with the Israeli Foreign Ministry, Olver said, they find officials there more understanding because they are interested in Israel's image abroad.

Although Palestinians are not afraid to communicate to the PLO their opposition to UNDP's style of work, it doesn't seem to have had much effect. John Olver, who met PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat, told *Al Fajr* that Arafat "understood the problems we face and approved the way we work." According to Olver, Arafat "accepted the fact that we have to work through the public Israeli sector."

Despite these strong criticisms, Palestinians interviewed about UNDP's operations expressed hope that the projects would continue and even grow — as long as Palestinian interests are kept as the top priority. ■

Sharonism

Continued from page 6

the routine. Life is good even if people are being injured here and there. We're going ahead at full steam in a torpor, propelled as it were by inertia. If people take to the streets, it's to have a good time. At any price.

Apathy of this sort will have a long-term impact. Young people looking for answers have begun to turn to the only people who are expressing a response to the situation at present: the extremists. They are the ones ready and willing to provide young people with simple one-dimensional answers that banish doubt and uncertainty, two characteristics that are indispensible to thinking human beings. They have all the answers and they're not afraid to promulgate them at the top of their voices. In the meantime, the political centre is going bankrupt; it appears to be incapable of addressing any of the important issues of the day, let alone provide some sort of balanced approch.

Apathy takes its toll; we pay dearly for it. One day it may even cost us our sanity. (Translation: HaAretz, February 19, 1985). ■

WEEKLY REVIEW

March 13, 1985

HEBRON PRISONERS ON HUNGER STRIKE

HEBRON — Palestinian political prisoners at Hebron prison went on hunger strike in support of fellow political prisoners at Asqalan prison who have been on a three-week hunger strike.

13 TEACHERS DISMISSED

Thirteen teachers from the Ramallah district were dismissed from their jobs by the Israeli authorities for unknown reasons.

They are: Suleiman Kteish, Suleiman Abdo, Abd al-Rahman Abd al-Razek, Ali Salem Abu Hilu, Abd al-Karim Mohammed Abd al-Qader, Nayef Jawdat Suleiman, Jamil Mohammed al-Najajreh, Said Mohammed Yunis, Sahar Hassan Oadeh, Khawlah Zakariya Asi, Intisar al-Sheikh Qussem, Sabah Zeidan and Mahmoud Sadakah.

JALAZON SCHOOL CLOSED

RAMALLAH — The Israeli military ordered the closure of the Jalazon boys school near Ramallah after an army vehicle was stoned and an Israeli officer wounded.

BZU STUDENTS PROTEST CLOSURE

A student rally was held at Bir Zeit University to protest the closure of the university's new campus by the authorities.

Representatives of various student factions delivered speeches in which they strongly condemned the closure and stressed that the national academic march at the university would proceed.

The student council at BZU issued a statement in which it said that "the Israeli offensive on Arab students at the Hebrew and Haifa Universities was a continuation of what happened against Bir Zeit University."

AL-BIREH CHILDREN ABDUCTED

AL-BIREH — A woman from al-Bireh filed a complaint with the police last night against the kidnapping of her two sons from the main road in al-Bireh.

Israel Radio said the two children had thrown stones at an Israeli bus passing in the city. Some of the passengers alighted from the bus and chased the stone throwers, the radio added.

They detained the two children and later handed them over to the security forces for questioning.

ISRAELI BANK TARGETTED

JERUSALEM — A fire bomb was thrown last night at the Bank Leumi branch on Salah al-Din Street in East Jerusalem. The bomb failed to explode, but the bank's window was damaged.

DHEISHEH REFUGEES 'COUNTED'

Residents of Dheisheh camp expressed concern over the census conducted by the authorities in the camp. Groups of Israeli soldiers, accompanied by senior officers from the military government, have been conducting the census for the last two days.

SA'IR YOUTH FINED, JAILED

NABLUS — Nablus military court sentenced Mohammed Issa Khalil of Sa'ir village in the Hebron district to two-and-a-half months in prison and a IS150,000 fine after convicting him of throwing stones at Israeli vehicles.

SHOT FOR PROTECTING LAND

Unidentified persons assaulted resident Salah Hindi Salah of Jorit al-Shama'h village near Efrat settlement in the Bethlehem district.

Salah was trying to prevent a group of people from working on his lands when he was shot at.

NABLUS MEN JAILED FOR STONES

NABLUS — Three Nablus youths were sentenced to various prison terms on security offences. Abd al-Qader al-Na'nuf and Talal Walid al-Jardaneh were sentenced to six months in prison and another six months suspended and Mohammed Jamil al-Dabai to four months in prison and four months suspended. The three were charged with throwing stones at army vehicles.

March 14, 1985

SIT-IN OUTSIDE RED CROSS OFFICES

Mothers of Palestinian political prisoners at Asqalan prison who have been on hunger strike for more than three weeks are continuing to stage a sit-in strike in front of the Red Cross offices in Jerusalem.

The women are staging their sit-in outside the Red Cross offices because they have been denied permission by Red Cross officials to stage their sit-in in the building. The women have been striking for three days.

The Asqalan prisoners are demanding, among other things, improved medical services and better food.

PLOT TO ASSASSINATE KOHL

JERUSALEM — The Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, Sheikh Sa'ad al-Din al-Alami, was quoted as saying an attempt to assassinate German Chancellor Helmut Kohl during his last visit to Jerusalem had been foiled.

Al-Alami told the London-based Saudi newspaper *Al Sharq al-Awsat* that an explosive device was found at the Dome of the Rock eight hours before Kohl was scheduled to visit the holy Islamic site. He added that the device, which was found by the Arab guards of al-Aqsa, was set to explode when Kohl arrived.

Al-Alami said that the Israeli defence and interior ministers had asked him not to reveal the incident.

GOREN MEETS DHEISHEH REPS

DHEISHEH — Shmuel Goren, coordinator of Israeli defence ministry activities in the West Bank, met with the *mukhtar* and representatives of Dheisheh refugee camp near Bethlehem.

Goren told the delegation that the civil administration would release a number of Dheisheh youths who are in detention and remove army roadblocks set up near the camp only if the camp residents stopped throwing stones and petrol bombs at Israeli vehicles.

10 YEARS FOR COLLABORATOR'S KILLING

HEBRON — Mohammed Hussein Manasreh, a resident of Bani Na'im village in the Hebron district, was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment by the Ramallah military court on charges of being an accomplice in the killing of a collaborator.

Four men were sentenced to life imprisonment for the killing. They are: Amin Ahmad Daisat, Nabil Mahmoud Daisat, Zahran Abd al-Razek Zeidan and Khaled Mohammed Khdeir.

FORMER MAYOR OF RAFAH JAILED

The former mayor of Rafah, pharmacist Suleiman Zu'rub, was sentenced by the Gaza military court to 20 months in prison and 24 months suspended for drug trafficking, charges which he has continually denied.

NAJAH STUDENT UNDER TOWN ARREST

NABLUS — Taysir Mohammed Saleh Nasr al-Din, a student at Najah National University in Nablus, has been placed under town arrest and refused permission to enter the university.

Taysir, a resident of Nablus, was detained several times in the past and released on bail.

GARBACHOV RENEWS SUPPORT

The new Soviet leader, Mikhail Garbachov, has reiterated the Soviet Union's support for the Palestinian cause under the leadership of the PLO, the Palestinian news agency WAFA reported.

The agency said Garbachov's statement came during his meeting with PLO leader Yasir Arafat who was in Moscow to attend the funeral of the late President Chernenko.

ISLAMIC U. SUSPENDS STUDIES

GAZA — The Islamic University in Gaza has suspended studies at the university until further notice.

Last week the university was the scene of violent scuffles between rival student factions.

TWO KALANDIA MEN SENTENCED

NABLUS — The Nablus military court sentenced Issam Yahia Nafi of Kalandia camp to seven months in prison and five months suspended on charges of throwing stones at Israeli military vehicles.

The court also sentenced Imad Adel Id to 10 months' imprisonment on security charges.

March 17, 1985

ISRAELI VEHICLES STONED IN RAMALLAH

An Israeli passenger was slightly wounded when the bus

In honour of Mother's Day, Siryat Beit al-Maqdes sponsored an exhibition of national products at the Chamber of Commerce Sunday March 17./AO photo

in which he was travelling was pelted with stones as it was passing the al-Am'ari refugee camp outside Ramallah, Israeli military sources said. The sources said stones were also thrown at several Israeli vehicles in Ramallah itself, but no injuries were reported.

Israeli troops sealed off the areas and began a search for the attackers.

Al Mithaq reports that Palestinians demonstrated in Ramallah against the Amman accord and the Mubarak initiative.

The paper quotes Israeli daily newspaper *Ma'ariv* as saying the demonstrators called for thwarting the accord and the initiative.

It also said the demonstrators erected makeshift roadblocks and barricaded themselves behind burning tyres.

VILLAGERS BARRED FROM TRAVEL

For the past three months, residents of the villages of Anabta and Beit Sahour who are under 40 years of age have been banned by Israeli authorities from travelling to Jordan.

The residents have expressed deep concern over the travel ban because it hinders their relations and work abroad.

CONDEMNATION OF BZU CLOSURE

The Association of Professional Federations in the West Bank has denounced the Israeli authorities' decision to close down the new campus of Bir Zeit University for two months.

It called on international public opinion, the UN, and UNESCO to interfere with the authorities to rescind their closure decision.

RAFAH RESIDENT BANNED FROM WB

GAZA — Israeli authorities have banned Fathi Abd al-Salam Aram of Rafah,in the Gaza Strip, from entering the West Bank. Fathi is a graduate of the Polytechnic College in Hebron and a former member of the student council at the college.

NAJAH STUDENTS RELEASED

Israeli authorities released Musadak al-Sanouri and Ghassan Atili, both students from Najah University in Nablus, after holding them in detention for 35 days.

March 18, 1985

PRISON STRIKES

Palestinian political prisoners in the Central Prison in Gaza declared a three-day hunger strike in solidarity with fellow prisoners at Asqalan prison who have been on a hunger strike for one month.

The mothers of the Asqalan prisoners are continuing a sit-in protest outside the Red Cross offices in Gaza for the second straight week in support of their sons.

Palestinian detainees at Damoun prison have been on hunger strike for one week to protest the prison administration's attempt to force them to work in the paper factory and confining 23 "security" detainees to small cells.

LEBANON FIGHTER JAILED 3 YEARS

NABLUS — The Nablus military court sentenced engineer Saleh Mahmoud al-Rabi to three years in prison on charges of having received weapons training and participating in the Lebanon war.

MILITARY SACKS WB TEACHERS

The Israeli officer in charge of education and culture in the Israeli "civil administration" has dismissed six teachers working in the Nablus district.

Last week 12 teachers from the Ramallah district were also dismissed. No reasons were given for this measure.

YOUTHS JAILED FOR DEMONSTRATING

NABLUS — Nablus military court sentenced Mahmoud Shafik al-Sammar and Yusef Assad Sammar, residents of Yamoun in the Jenin district, to four months in prison on charges of demonstrating.

March 19, 1985

TAWIL MEETS BRANDT

Palestinian journalist and writer Raymonda Tawil met with former German Chancellor Willy Brandt in Bonn and briefed him on the latest developments. She requested that Brandt employ more European pressure on Israel and the ruling Labour Party to resolve the Palestinian cause, withdraw from the occupied territories, and grant the Palestinian people the right to establish their own independent state.

Zrariyeh women weep over their dead relatives killed in the village by Israeli troops March 11. The Israeli army raided the Shi'ite village in revenge for a suicide attack on the Israelis in south Lebanon the day before./AFP photo

POLICE ASSAULT GAZA RESIDENT

A resident of Gaza said he had been brutally attacked by six Israeli policemen who came to his house to arrest him.

Abd al-Fatah Sa'id Abu Jahel, 24, said policemen arrived at his home in the morning searching for him. He was not home at that time. When he returned, he found the policemen waiting for him. They beat him up before taking him to detention. Two hours later Abd al-Fatah was brought home and taken to Shifa Hospital.

HAIFA U. STUDENTS DEMAND INQUIRY

Representatives of Arab students at Haifa University called for the immediate release of their colleagues who were detained two weeks ago and the cancellation of a decision by the university's disciplinary court against other Arab students.

At a Haifa press conference, the students also called for an "academic inquiry commission" to probe events at the university two weeks ago, when the police were summoned to the campus to disperse a sit-in strike by Arab students.

BOULOS VISITS NEVE TERTZA PRISON

Advocate Jawad Boulus from Felicia Lanager's office visited Neve Tertza prison where he met with Lebanese and Palestinian women detainees who briefed him on conditions in the prison. The four Lebanese women are: Fatmeh Basha, Leila Shour, Dad Kharbutli, and Mariam Hassan al-Abdallah.

3 JABALYA YOUTHS JAILED

The Israeli military court in Gaza sentenced both Ali Mohammed Abdallah Abu Rakbeh, 15, and Ahmad Mohammed Shahin,16, from Jabalya refugee camp, to five year in prison and three years suspended on security charges.

The court also sentenced Samir Mohammed Miqdad, 20, from Jabalya, to six months in prison and 18 months suspended on charges of attempting to cross the border to Egypt illegally and membership in a Palestinian organisation.

ISRAELI CAR SWIPES 3-YEAR-OLD

Azizeh Abd al-Rahim al-Shweiki, a 3-year-old girl from Hebron, was hit by an Israeli vehicle in Hebron. She was taken to Makassed Hospital in Jerusalem, reportedly suffering from wounds in her head, her left arm, and her right leg.

A Critique

Continued from page 7

they called for enhanced their respectability.

c) Crisis also had the effect of loosening family restrictions on the political activities of women.

By 1978 there were, even in rural camps, girls working as full-time political cadres. More women were keeping up their political activities after marriage; more were marrying comrades.

Ideological change as well as concrete change was clear from discussions one could hear in homes and workshops, and in debates about the objectives of the GUPW. In a 1980 GUPW seminar papers were presented on women's health, education, employment, and on personal status laws, and, in March 1982, a Fatah leader gave an interview to *Al Hadaf*, **** in which she said:

> "We can't have laws for Palestinians everywhere, but really, as a revolution, we can have some civil laws applied to those who are part of our institutions. Here I make a self-criticism of us as the GUPW. We have a responsibility to really start to struggle on this level, to make studies and present a programme to the leadership and the PNC."

The Israeli invasion of 1982 cut short this critical trend and set back the Resistance from an "advanced defensive" stage where institutional change could be debated to a zero of struggle for survival. Few Palestinian institutions now remain in Lebanon, and ordinary women face enormous problems with the PRM expelled, so many of their menfolk dead or in prison, so many homes destroyed, and so few jobs. Yet the strength of their spirit is perfectly captured in this description from the second day of the evacuation of the PLO:

> "A woman in her late thirties, wearing old torn clothes, tugging two young children behind her, broke from the crowd and ran across the street waving a placard at the departing convoy. Written in an illiterate hand in poor Arabic it read, quite simply, 'I will take your place.' "

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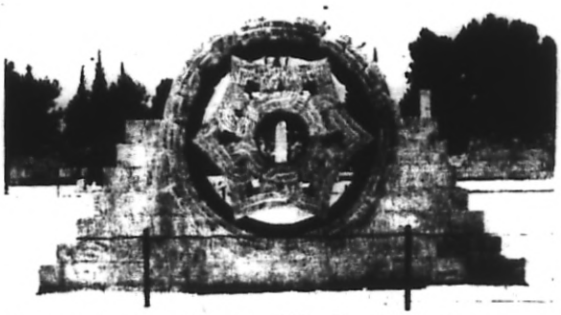
* *Israeli propaganda emphasises the good fortune of Arab women in Israel and the occupied territories, but omits to tell of racialism, land confiscations, the dynamiting of homes, imprisonment, or the starvation of development funds to Arab areas.*

** *When women in the GUPW in Beirut wanted to write about the women's movement in Palestine, most of the records and newspapers they needed (in 1973) were under occupation. Since then, their own records in the Palestine Research Centre have been looted during the 1982 Israeli invasion.*

*** *The struggle between the leadership of the GUPW and the Fatah leadership is illustrated by Abu Ammar's rejection of the slogan chosen as theme for the 4th General GUPW Congress in February 1980: "Towards a More Effective Participation in the Revolution." He saw it as too critical.*

**** *PFLP Bulletin No 61, "International Women's Day," Beirut, April 1982, (interview with Jihan Helou).* ■

Hisham's Palace: Umayyad Legacy in Palestine



Reconstructed window of Hisham's Palace. Visitors like to take pictures in its foreground.

by Sami Aboudi

Hisham's Palace is regarded by historians and archaeologists as the most beautiful and luxurious Umayyad palace in Palestine. Located at a place known as Khirbat al-Mafjar, on the northeastern outskirts of the occupied city of Jericho, the ruins of Hisham's Palace, a testimony to the achievements of Arab rule in Palestine, was annexed to the Israeli government's National Parks Authority (NPA) in 1967.

Whether in its architectural design, construction, or interior decoration, the palace is considered a fine piece of art and attracts thousands of Palestinian, Israeli, and foreign tourists annually. The beauty and intricacy of the mosaic floors in its baths are world-famous.

Hisham's Palace is one of the most magnificent desert fortress-like palaces built by successive Arab rulers from the Umayyad dynasty, which reigned over the Arab-Islamic empire in the seventh and eight centuries AD. The compound was built in two stages between 723 and 747 AD by Caliph Hisham Ben Abd al-Malik and his son, Caliph al-Walid II. According to historians, Hisham was a religious man who ordered the building of the original square-shaped two-storey palace building. Historians say that the luxurious baths must have been added to the palace compound by al-Walid II.

The palace, ironially, was never inhabited by either of the two caliphs. A massive earthquake destroyed the entire compound in the final stages of construction. Some historians believe that it fell in the same earthquake that destroyed the Holy Sepulchre Church in Jerusalem in 747. Today, several walls and most of the pillars that supported the arched roof of the baths section are still standing and some of the bathing rooms and the beautiful mosaic floors are in excellent condition.

Perhaps the most important artifacts from the palace are the magnificent decorations from the compound's interior. The items were taken for display at the Palestine Archaeology Museum in Jerusalem (renamed the Rockefeller Museum after the Israeli occupation of the West Bank in 1967) and are mostly rare plaster carvings of human and animal figures that covered the interior of the bath section as well as some parts of the residential palace. These treasures also include some stone statues and wall paintings.

The items recovered from Hisham's Palace are regarded as rare pieces of art since Islamic figurative sculpture appeared only during the reign of the Umayyad dynasty. Dynasties that followed the Umayyads observed Islamic law in its strict sense and prohibited figurative painting or sculpture. Post-Umayyad Islamic art was chiefly comprised of geometrical decorations and calligraphic designs.

The palace ruins were only discovered in 1937 by foreign and Palestinian archaeologists from the Palestinian Archaeology Department, then under supervision of the British mandate authorities. At first they thought that a Byzantine church was located on the site. The discovery of two letters in Arabic engraved on marble stones and addressed to Caliph Hisham put an end to these speculations. The excavation of the site continued for 11 years until 1948, when the entire palace structure was uncovered, including the bath halls.

In 1957-1958, Palestinian archaeologist Awni Dajani led another excavation mission in an effort to reach the palace walls. Instead, they discovered the workers' quarters and storage houses full of grain, dried dates and raisins. They also found the workshops where the palace's interior decorations had been prepared.

The short-lived fortress-like palace is one of several built in Palestine, Jordan, and Syria by the first rulers of the Arab Umayyad dynasty that ruled the Islamic empire during the seventh and eighth centuries AD. While these palaces were modeled on Byzantine architecture, they also contained strong Arabic elements, reflecting the desert origin of the Umayyad caliphs.

Hisham's Palace was no exception. The main entrance opened on a large hall furnished with stone supports where visitors could lean, like those found in Beduin tents, until they were allowed to see the caliph. The palace roof was also made like that of a tent.

The palace itself is comprised of a main complex and several wings that were added onto it later. The main structure was a two-story, square-shaped building that served as residence for the caliph. It was designed around a central courtyard, surrounded by a two-storey arcade. The arcades were supported by round, carved, stone pillars which archaeologists believe were brought from the ruins of a nearby Byzantinve church. The palace's rooms and halls opened onto the arcade. The first floor housed the ruler's entourage and his animals, while the upper floor contained his living quarters and reception hall.

The other, almost square, rectangular enclosure was fortified by massive corner towers and a series of semi-circular towers along the sides. At the centre of one side stands the heavily fortified and decorative entrance gate. The almost four-metre-wide gate extends the full height of the building. The elaborately carved stones that used to decorate the arched top of the gate are now lying on the ground on both sides of the entrance. Through the gate, one enters a long hall, probably a waiting room for visitors, which in turn opens onto the central courtyard.

At the centre of the courtyard, archaeologists have reconstructed a round window, shaped like a six-cornered star. This window was originally located on the second floor.

The most magnificent wing of the palace is the baths section. The larger part, which survived the earthquake, is a square hall 30 metres wide with a pool on one side. The hall is built on 16 huge columns, each consisting of a myriad of square and round pillars entwined in an intricate and dazzling way. Each side of the bath hall is shaped into three arches that rise all the way to the ceiling.

In the northwestern corner of the bath hall there is a small domed divan hall that may have served as the caliph's private salon, as the rich and marvelous decor on its floor and walls seem to indicate the floors of the divan hall and the elevated recess in the back, where the caliph would sit, are decorated with the gorgeous, renowned, and carpet-like mosaic. The floor mosaic in the recessed area depicts two stags grazing under an orange tree, while a lion is killing a third stag on the other side of the tree. The hall floor mosaic is of a more abstract design. Both the recessed area and the hall mosaics are well-preserved. At the bottom of the wall, parts of the original plaster carving are still present.

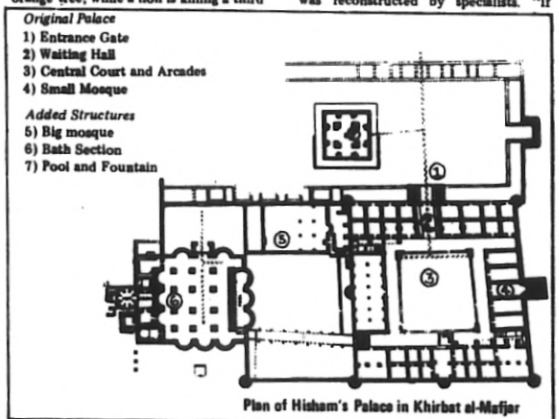
Most of the wall decorations in the baths section, which included human figures, birds, and other shapes, are on display at the Rockefeller (formerly Palestine) Museum. Also on display is a statue, believed to be of Caliph Hisham, who built the palace. The statue was found in the residential wing.

Around the north and eastern sides of the baths section, there are covered aqueducts leading to cellars where the water was heated for bathing in large containers built above fireplaces on the ground floor. Hot water was channeled to the bath halls in canals tiled with special bricks expressly designed for that purpose. The palace also contained steambath rooms, resembling modern saunas, which were designed with numerous small holes in the walls for the steam.

There were two mosques in the palace, a small one in the original complex was probably for the caliph and his close associates and another, which was located between the original palace and the bath section, apparently added later. Today, only the niche and a few round pillars are still standing.

The palace also contains a large beautifully decorated pool, with a water fountain in the middle.

The palace grounds were surrounded by a fence that cordoned all sides of the compond for two kilometres. Historians believe that this large area was designed to allow the caliph to engaged in his hobby of hunting.



Plan of Hisham's Palace in Khirbat al-Mafjar

Israelised

After the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza in 1967, all archaeological sites in the occupied territories, including Hisham's Palace, were placed under the jurisdiction of the Israeli National Parks Authority (NPA). Except for erecting some Hebrew signs in addition to the original Arabic and English signs, identifying certain parts of the palace, the NPA did litte to improve services at the tourist site. Many visitors complain about the fact that unless one has a guide, there is no way to find out the history of the palace because there are no explanations on the site itself. People do enjoy the beautiful stone carvings and the interior decorations but they understand little about the Arabic architectural design or the history of the place. Many visitors, for instance, think that the six-pointed stone star in the middle of the central courtyard stands in its original location, when in fact it had been a window on the second floor of the palace; which was reconstructed by specialists. "If only they had some explanatory maps," one visitor lamented.

Palestinian tour guides say that the palace, like most non-Jewish historical sites, is excluded from the publicity campaigns that the Israeli Ministry of Tourism organises. Hisham's Palace rarely appears in the ministry publications, despite the inclusion of many obscure synagogues and other ancient Jewish sites. One tour guide pointed out that while a Jewish historic site like Massada is guaranteed optimim publicity, "Arab Umayyad palaces in the Tiberias area have not even been excavated." ■